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KLEZMER TUNES FOR THE CHRISTIAN BRIDE: THE INTERFACE OF JEWISH AND ROMANIAN EXPRESSIVE CULTURES IN THE WEDDING TABLE REPERTOIRE FROM NORTHERN BESSARABIA

WALTER ZEV FELDMAN

ABSTRACT

By the early eighteenth century Ottoman-ruled Moldova became a unique social interface of local and immigrant Orthodox Christians, Muslim Turks and Tatars, and Ashkenazic and Sephardic Jews. During the nineteenth century this process resulted in a mixed Ashkenazic *klezmer* and Gypsy *lăutar* instrumental repertoire with two distinct branches – Judaized Moldavian dance genres for the Jews, and Moldavianized Jewish genres for the Moldavian Christians. One notable result of this mixture was the custom of both Christian and Jewish musicians performing the "Songs of the Cup" (*Cântec de pahar*) at the Christian wedding table, a large part of which were taken from the klezmer dance melodies termed Khosid, in Romanian known as "Husid." This Moldavian repertoire of Jewish origin was first documented by Romanian sociologists in the 1930s, then in post-Soviet Moldova, and later through the current author's fieldwork in the Republic of Moldova, Germany and Israel between 2011 and 2015.

Keywords: klezmer, lăutar, Moldova, khosid, transitional repertoire, intonatsia.

INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC OF MOLDOVA/BESSARABIA

The topic of the current research is a repertoire consisting of several overlapping musical genres within one multi-ethnic territory of Eastern Europe. Within Ottoman-ruled Moldova in the second half of the eighteenth century – and more especially in the post-Ottoman nineteenth century – the basis was laid for the creation of a professional urban instrumental music that took root both in Moldavian villages and among Ashkenazic Jews in small towns and cities. The joint participation of Gypsy *lăutari*, Jewish *klezmer*, and to some degree also Greek musicians was a basic condition for the creation of this repertoire. Documentation for this repertoire is richest within the regions of Bessarabia and Bucovina that had

been under Russian and Austrian rule during the nineteenth century. These documents – mainly of a scientific nature – were created both in the inter-war period and then after the 1980s. Earlier social documentation – and some early twentieth century commercial recordings from the nearby Russian and Austrian imperial territories – would suggest that similar repertoires had been created in a broad zone within and surrounding Historical Moldova, including in those regions that found themselves within the Kingdom of Romania after 1878. But following the 1970s, both the social and political dimensions of Romanian society, plus the emigration abroad of the remaining Jewish communities, explain the absence of similar repertoires there by the later twentieth century. And at roughly the same time within the Soviet Republic of Moldova this older local repertoire and style was largely displaced by newer and more "national" Romanian Gypsy instrumental styles originating in Bucharest and other parts of the Kingdom.

With this ethnographic and political background it is possible to approach the somewhat eclectic repertoire formerly played at the wedding feast in Moldavian villages, in recent generations most typically in Bessarabia and Northern Bucovina. This repertoire, known as the "Song of the Cup" (*Cântec de pahar*) contains several stylistic elements. Here we will focus on two of the most prevalent – the first derived from the klezmer dance form known as "Khosid" (= Rom. Husid) and the other connected with the traditional dance of the butchers' guild of Istanbul, known in Turkish as *kasap*, Greek *hassapiko* (or *hassapiko serba* or *serviko*), Moldavian *bulgăreasca*, Yiddish *bulgarish*.

This latter combination proved influential among Roma (Gypsy) and Jewish communities all through Eastern Europe, and among the Greeks, Turks and Roma of Istanbul. By the 1880s this same musical process had crossed the ocean to America, where Greek and Jewish professional musicians continued to learn from and influence one another up until the late 1950s. But almost coincidentally as it were, historical and social events – mainly from ca. 1920-1950, led to the rapid demise of this musical trend, sundering the musical and dance connections that had long connected Moldavians, Jews, Greeks, and to some extent the musician Roma of Istanbul.[1]

Much of the appeal of this transnational musical genre was its ability to be "translatable" into several musical cultures, and to furnish material for more central genres within a "national" musical culture. While the somewhat later Greek *rembetika* and Romanian Gypsy *lăutar* musics, as well as several trends in Jewish klezmer music, are better known today, this earlier transnational music survived long enough to be documented on early commercial recordings, and some later scientific recordings and notations – but not long enough for the social forces that had produced it to be widely remembered. I had treated this transnational genre at length first in my 1994 article on the *bulgar* dance and then in my 2016 monograph on European klezmer music.[2]

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[1] See Feldman 2016: 349-352.

[2] Feldman 1994, and Chapter 15: "The Bulgar, a Transnational Klezmer Dance Genre" in Feldman 2016: 347-366.

But when this monograph was in its final stages I was still engaged in field work researching another major component of the *Cântec de pahar* repertoire, namely the Husid/Khosid. This latter topic brings up a somewhat different aspect of the interrelationship of Jewish and Moldavian folk culture, which was more focused on the Moldavian territory and rather less on Istanbul. It also brings to the fore the creation of two ethnic repertoires which were in a sense mirror images of one another. I had termed these the "transitional repertoires." While my earlier research (since 1994) had focused on the Moldavian phenomenon within Jewish instrumental music, my more recent work – now to some degree also building on the research of the Moldovan ethnomusicologist Vasile Chiseliță – also addresses the issue of the corresponding Moldavian adaptation of Jewish instrumental dance music. Thus these instrumental repertoires may be viewed as markers of the social relations linking and separating Ashkenazic Jews and Romanian-speaking Christians in Historical Moldova, as well as evidence for the professional relations of their respective musicians classes – the *klezmorim* and the *lăutari*.

KLEZMORIM IN OTTOMAN, ROMANIAN AND RUSSIAN MOLDOVA

Historical Moldova today is divided among the Republic of Moldova, Romania and Ukraine. Most of the modern Republic of Moldova had been known in the nineteenth century as Bessarabia. Incorporated into the Ottoman Empire since 1511, Moldova became the frontier between that Empire, the Crimean Khanate, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Muscovy. It was the scene of several historic battles as well as overland trade to Istanbul and seaborne trade to the Black Sea. Moldova's ties to the Ottoman capital were strengthened during the Phanariot Period of the rule of the Greek Princes from Constantinople, following the Prut Campaign with Russia in 1711. This period ended officially in 1828, but continued as a societal factor almost until the independence of Romania in 1878. In the Phanariot Period Ashkenazic Jews were welcomed in the regions of Ottoman-dominated Moldova in and around the Hotin Fortress, where they became an influential part of the urban population throughout Northern and Central Bessarabia. Following the Russian annexation of 1812 these local Jews were augmented by newer immigrants from Russian Ukraine and also Austrian Galicia. During the nineteenth century these Ashkenazic Jews also came to absorb the older Sephardic Jewish communities. As contact between Russian Bessarabia and Ottoman Istanbul became increasingly difficult – the Sephardic Jews of Bessarabia gradually came to intermarry with the Ashkenazim and to redefine themselves accordingly. By the end of that century Yiddish-speaking Jews usually constituted well over 50% of the town populations. In the North and Center of the country this percentage was often closer to 80%.

While most other Jewish groups in the world had a professional synagogue cantor (*hazzan/khazn*), and in the Muslim world, usually also professional male

musicians and sometimes female dancer/singers, only the Ashkenazim throughout Eastern Europe also had a professional musicians' guild (the klezmer/klezmorim). Uniquely, the klezmorim composed in their own system of genres, divided into wedding ritual melodies for listening, and a variety of dance genres for both group and solo dancing. While it was fully documented only in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, this division of genres seems to have reached a more mature form as the klezmer profession was accepted throughout the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the course of the seventeenth century, following the creation of the klezmer guild in mid-sixteenth century Prague. According to the terminology I had developed between 1994 and 2016, this system of both wedding and dance genres, created by and performed exclusively for Jews, can be termed the "core" repertoire. By the early nineteenth century there was a broad distinction between a "Northern" core klezmer repertoire in Northern Poland, Belarus and Lithuania, as opposed to a "Southern" klezmer repertoire in Ukraine, Southern Poland, Galicia and Moldova. However the broad principles of Jewish wedding melodies, dance and dance music were uniform in both North and South, while differences lay more in compositional and performance style and a somewhat divergent terminology. These differences were almost always an internal Jewish affair, that did not reflect the dances or performance styles of the co-territorial non-Jewish populations. In both North and South the creation of the klezmer melodies reflected the same mixture or "fusion" of earlier (sixteenth–eighteenth century) West and Central European dance music, Ashkenazic liturgical "nusah," and components coming from Greco-Turkish music.[3]

By the early eighteenth century at the latest the klezmorim were also active in Ottoman-ruled Moldova. In contrast to nearly all regions of Christian Europe, the Ottoman guilds were multidenominational, they had no exclusive patron saints, and were open to members of all local religions. Prior to the eighteenth century, the musicians guild in Moldova was dominated by members of the Roma/Gypsy community, known as *lăutari*. But in that century the guild accepted numerous Ashkenazic klezmorim. Some musical patterns of the country can only be understood with reference to a former significant Greek presence, and its center in the Ottoman capital, Istanbul/Constantinople. For several generations Jewish musicians of Ashkenazic origin co-existed with Greeks in Moldova. Jewish and Christian musicians often became bi or trilingual, speaking Romanian, Greek and Yiddish. From the middle of the eighteenth century, and especially in the nineteenth century, Ashkenazic Jews had a large influence on the musical life of the country, especially on the wedding repertoire, due to the wide presence of the klezmorim, and to their collaboration with the earlier local musicians, the lăutari, who were usually of Rom (Gypsy) origin.[4] The best known early example is the

[3] See Feldman 2016: 11-26.
[4] Chiseliță 2006.

famous *cimbalist* Solomon Ţimbelarul (i.e. "Shloyme der Tsimbler") who flourished in Iaşi, documented in 1741 as a court musician for the Phanariot Greek Voyvod in the capital.[5]

After 1812 Bessarabia responded both to factors particular to its status within the Russian Empire, and to political developments in the remaining Moldova under Ottoman dominance, which became part of the new Romanian Kingdom in 1878. After this date the Jewish and the Greek communities had an inverse demographic relationship. As Ashkenazic Jewish immigration into Russian Bessarabia from the Russian Ukraine and Austrian Galicia increased, Greek immigration declined and the resident Greek community either emigrated out or redefined themselves as "Moldavians" by intermarriage and adoption of the Romanian language. West of the Prut river, klezmer and lăutar musicians from Iaşi and elsewhere were able to continue their yearly journeys to the Ottoman capital, which have been described by Iţic Svart (1974) through letters written in Istanbul, and preserved in the archive of the klezmer synagogue in Iaşi.

By pure serendipity a description by an eyewitness to klezmer/lăutar performance – although not of the *kasap* dance – in early nineteenth century Istanbul survives. Speaking of the Sweet Waters of Asia (Küçük Su Kasri), near Anadolu Hisari, on the Asian side of Istanbul, the English traveler Julie Pardoe writes:

> "All ranks alike frequent this sweet and balmy spot. Wallachian and Jewish musicians are common, and the extraordinary length of time during which they dwell upon a single note, with their heads thrown back, their mouths open, and their eyes fixed, and then following it up with a whole sentence, rapidly and energetically uttered, is most singular. But these oriental troubadours are not without their rivals in the admiration of the veiled beauties who surround them; conjurors, improvisatori, story-tellers, and Bulgarian dancers are there also, to seduce away a portion of their audience, while interruptions caused by fruit, sherbet and water-vendors are incessant. They are, however, the most popular of all, and a musician whose talent is known and acknowledged seldom fails to spend a very profitable day at the Asian sweet waters."[6]

An important musical link between Moldova and the Ottoman capital had been provided by the cattle tribute, instituted in Moldova and Wallachia early in the sixteenth century. Thus, in the 1630s the Turkish travel-writer Evliya Çelebi described the triumphal entry of the cowboys from the Danubian Principalities Moldova and Wallachia into the Greek neighborhood Galata in Istanbul:

> "The guild of *pastırma*-making herders: they are 600 people. Among them are also rich merchants. But most of them are infidels from Wallachia and Moldova... During November they bring 300,000 head of cattle and sacrifice

[5] See Spielmann (ed.) 1988: LXX.

[6] From Pardoe 1839. The Küçüksu Kasri ("The 3 Sweet Waters of Asia"), near Anadolu Hisari in Asia was one of the many scenic spots of Istanbul.

> them to make beef *pastırma* for the people of Istanbul to eat... These cattle herders are armed from head to toe; they have no shops or factories but pass by on their horses – they are simply great soldiers"...[7]

One can only imagine the celebrations of these Moldavian and Wallachian cowboys after they had braved the roads and the bandits to reach the Ottoman capital! They probably could not bring their own musicians with them on the perilous roads, but it became a custom for the Gypsy and Greek musicians of the capital to play a specific style of dance for the Ottoman butchers' guild – Turkish *kasap* – that was based on the music of faraway Moldova. This new musical style developed over a period of more than three centuries. The Danubian cowboys had been "great soldiers," and in Istanbul they dealt with both Turkish and Greek butchers. The Turkish butchers had been connected with the elite Janissary army corps; hence they were militarized. This is the simplest explanation for the evident military quality of the butchers' dance in all its ethnic variants.[8]

This link between the klezmorim of Moldova and the Ottoman capital seems to have continued long after the separation of Moldova and Wallachia from the Empire. As late as 1910 a modern klezmer brass band, under the leadership of a cornet-player named Goldberg, was recorded playing a Moldavian klezmer repertoire by the Orfeon Company. It is not known from which town the band originated; one would suspect Iaşi, except that we have no record of a klezmer ensemble led by anyone named Goldberg. In any case, Goldberg was a superb musician, offering a highly unusual performance of what is evidently a *doina*. On the obverse, his ensemble plays a well-known Jewish *sârba/bulgar*, which was still in the repertoire of the famous Iaşi klezmer fiddler Avrom Bughici in the 1960s. Very significantly, the labels of both recordings are written in Greek characters and language, with the *doina* described as "Klephtiko Vlakhiko" (Romanian Bandit Ballad). Thus, this single disc documents the four-way musical connection of the Jews, the Moldavian Gypsies, the Greeks and the Turks (in whose city it was recorded).[9]

Despite their political separation, musical contacts between Ottoman/ Romanian Moldova and Russian Bessarabia also continued throughout the nineteenth century. An outstanding example of this phenomenon is the career of the klezmer violinist Milu Lemisch (1847-1918), documented most recently by Vasile Chiseliță (2012). Coming from a prominent klezmer family in Iaşi, Lemisch later was extremely active in the musical life of Chişinău and Bălți, performing for

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[7] Feldman 2016: 356.

[8] See Chiseliță 2005 and Feldman 2016: 348.

[9] Similar ethnic tile "translation" had been employed by the Orfeon record company in Istanbul as early as 1910 to sell Moldavian klezmer performances to a local Greek clientele: Goldberg's doina and sirba were marketed there as "klephtiko vlakhiko" and "sârba" (in Greek letters). See the notes to *Klezmer Music, Early Yiddish Instrumental Music. The First Recordings: 1908-1927, From the Collection of Dr. Martin Schwartz*. Arhoole Folklyric CD 7034, 1997.

the local Moldavian aristocracy and in the theater. In 1887 he emigrated to America, where he founded a klezmer lineage in Philadelphia, with many current descendants. He left his lăutar work to his student Costache Parnau (1856-1912) in Bălți.

In the course of the nineteenth century – if not earlier – this cultural process resulted in a mixed Ashkenazic klezmer and Gypsy lăutar instrumental repertoire with two distinct branches – Judaized Moldavian dance genres for the Jews, and Moldavianized Jewish genres for the Moldavian Christians. My earlier research on this topic transpired in Brooklyn (NYC), with the great klezmer clarinetist Dave Tarras (1897-1989), during the late 1970s. The Podolian-born Tarras (Tarrasiuk) had studied with the klezmer kapelye of Edineț (North Bessarabia) prior to emigrating to America in 1921. He became the leading immigrant composer in the Bessarabian klezmer/lăutar style, recording his own compositions as well as some older items in New York from 1925 until 1979. I published my first article on this topic and on his role in recreating this repertoire in America in 1994 in the journal Ethnomusicology.[10]

Since the American immigration from Russian and later Romanian Bessarabia was almost entirely Jewish, there was no way one could then research the corresponding Moldavian adaptation of Jewish dance music. However, unbeknownst to me, at that very time the noted researcher in both Moldavian dance and pastoral music at the Academy of Sciences in Chişinău – Vasile Chiseliță – had been collecting wide material on this very topic. Earlier, Chiseliță had been a student of Zemtsovsky's in Petersburg. But he was only able to publish about this interethnic topic in the post-Communist era.[11]

My own fieldwork on this topic – in Moldova, Romania, Greece, Germany, Canada and Israel – took place between 2011 and 2015, supported through New York University in the United Arab Emirates, where I was then teaching. It began in Mainz, where an elderly Gypsy lăutar, Teodor Coman (b. 1930), had emigrated, together with his wife, who was the daughter of the klezmer band-leader of the Marantz family in their North Bessarabian *shtetl* Raşcani. I had first made his acquainttance through the extraordinary Bessarabian folkloric composer and accordionist Emil Croitor – now resident in Tel Aviv. In 2008 I participated in the Other Music Project (based in Weimar), entitled the *Other Europeans*, directed by Alan Bern. Later, in 2011– through my NYU Abu Dhabi faculty research grant – I was able to revisit the Comans in Mainz. My assistant Christina Crowder and I discovered that Teodor's elder brother – trumpeter Dumitru Vasile Coman – had been a principal musical informant for the major notated collection of Moldavian instrumental music, published in Chişinău in 1972.[12] Teodor Coman insisted that, while in the Communist period no musical item could be described as Jewish, in fact more than one quarter of that Moldovan published collection was purely

[10] Feldman 1994.
[11] Chiseliță 2006, 2008.
[12] Stoianov 1972.

Jewish (*natural evreiască*) or else Jewish klezmer material somewhat modified to suite the Moldavian taste. According to the terminology I had created first in 1994 and then developed in 2016, these would furnish examples of "transitional" repertoires, being adapted from one folkloric culture into another. And it is to these that we will now turn.

TRANSITIONAL REPERTOIRES IN THE MOLDAVIAN *CÂNTEC DE PAHAR*/SONG OF THE CUP

The Transitional Repertoire reflects the reality of the klezmer repertoire as it was documented from the later nineteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries in the Jewish "South" – Galicia, Ukraine and Moldova. It was more distantly reflected in the "Northern" klezmer repertoire of Lithuania, Belarus, and Northern and Central Poland. The melodies in the transitional repertoire displayed clear interaction with the core Jewish repertoire, which resulted in the creation of new hybrid genres. The foreign provenance of the transitional genres was still remembered among klezmorim in the early twentieth century. The genre names included in the Transitional Repertoire are the dances *volekh*, *hora*, *zhok*, *sârba*, *ange*, *londre*, and *bulgarish*, derived from the Romanian words *horă*, *joc*, *sârbă*, *hangu*, *oleandre*, and *bulgărească*. In the non-dance category the most important genre is the *doyne* (*doina*), with the related forms *de zhalea* (*jale*) and *taxim*, all based upon "flowing rhythm." Evidently these genres were incorporated recently enough for those names to be remembered, at times even outside of the geographical zone where the Romanian language was known. Thus while the klezmorim of Bessarabia also possessed a core Jewish repertoire of a "southern" nature akin to that of Ukraine and Galicia, its place within the total musical system was not identical to the situation elsewhere, due to the larger presence of the "transitional" repertoire.

To understand this process more fully it is essential to recognize the fact that in Moldova there was also a parallel Gentile "transitional" instrumental repertoire, created for Moldavians by the klezmorim and lăutari, featuring Yiddish genre names such as *husid* (*husin*), *şaier* and *freilihs*. This Non-Jewish Transitional Repertoire was based largely on the core klezmer dance repertoire – transformed according to Moldavian musical performance practice ("intonatsia").[13] One notable result of this mixture was the custom of both Christian and Jewish musicians performing the "Songs of the Cup" (*Cântece de pahar*) or "Songs of the Table" (*Cântece de masă*) at the Christian wedding table, which usually were taken from the klezmer dance melodies termed Khosid, in Romanian known as "Husid." Vasile Chiseliță, at the Academy of Sciences in Chişinău, describes it:

> "Connected with the ceremony of the ritual table at the traditional wedding there evolved a distinct musical creation in the rhythm of dance, termed among

[13] See Feldman 2016: 211-213; Zemtsovsky 2012; 2018.

> the people Vivat, Dance with the Cup, Song of the Cup, the Sweet Cup, etc. The genre attributes symbolic function to the music, destined specially for celebration, to show honor and homage to the married young couple..."[14]

By the 1990s this Wedding Table repertoire was apparently no longer functional, and so it is familiar today only to the oldest generation of musicians. According to ethnomusicologist Speranța Rădulescu, her research in the Botoşani region of Romanian Moldova over the past decade did not reveal a similar wedding repertoire.[15] It would appear that in the twentieth century this repertoire was widespread rather in Bessarabia and (Northern) Bucovina. Our rather limited corpus contains more than one style; some apparently originate in an older layer of Moldavian peasant music, generally of a dance-like character. As described by Chiseliță:

> "According to its dance-like character, the melodies of the Cup represent a type of dancing in place or pseudo-dance, which are widespread particularly in Bessarabia... In the process of intercultural communication, that was very intense in the Moldavian (Bessarabian) zone and in Bucovina, gradually there took shape an enrichment of this genre. In the course of the last two centuries a series of new types appeared, centered on certain dances that represented cultural borrowing. In the sphere of the dances of the Cup or the Vivat, three specific dances were integrated, taken over from Jewish folklore: 1) *freilih*; 2) *şaier* and 3) *husin* or *hussar*. In Bucovina there was also a type of *huțulca* for the table, taken over from the Carpatho-Ruthenian community."[16]

"Freilih" is derived from the common Jewish circle dance, known in the South as *freylekhs*. "Şaier" is a form of contra-dance derived from Yiddish "sher." This had developed in Jewish folklore in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in all of Jewish Eastern Europe. Its ultimate derivation is from the eighteenth century German contra-dance known then as "scher."After acquiring Jewish choreographic expression and Jewish instrumental accompaniment it diffused throughout the areas of Eastern Yiddish speech.[17] It was borrowed both in Moldavian and in Ukrainian folklore from the Yiddish – not the German – usage. Known Jewish *sher* melodies have been documented in the performance of entirely Ukrainian brass bands in the Vinnitsa region of Podolia from the later 1980s until the early twenty-first century.[18] Apart from any possible place in the *Cântec de pahar* wedding table repertoire, these dances also had been performed as folk dances during the wedding as well. Many of the other tunes are usually connected with Jewish related examples of the *hangu* and *hora* genres – and with the Istanbul

[14] Chiseliță 2009: 355-56.
[15] Interviewed in Athens in October 2010; see Rădulescu 2007.
[16] Chiseliță op. cit.
[17] Feldman 2016: 261-274.
[18] Loberan 2005.

urban dance *kasap/hassapiko* ("the butchers' dance").[19] While the Greek element is no longer distinguished by terminology, many of the tunes had been known to the Moldavians as "husid", from Yiddish "khusid" or "khosidl."[20]

Within the klezmer repertoire of the South the *khosid* or *khosidl* represented a distinct musical form, appropriate to accompany an improvised solo dance in a slow tempo, based largely on gestures of the upper body, arms and hands. It was practiced primarily by non-Hasidic Jews, who were by far the majority in Bessarabia. The identical melodies were employed also as a wedding ritual dance for the parents of the bride, known as *makhetonim tants*.[21] This improvised solo dance form was central to the entire choreographic system of East European Jews both in the North and in the South. It was able to be transferred from a wedding ritual context for the older generation, to a hierarchical and mystical Hasidic context, to a non-Hasidic Jewish wedding dance context. None of these choreographic forms had any close relationship to dance concepts current in Moldavian culture. Thus, unlike the *freilihs* and the *şaier*, the *husid* entered the customs of the Moldavian wedding largely divorced from its original choreographic usage. As we will see while examining several specific melodies, the appeal of this genre seems to have been related to its seriousness and dignity, which was evidently deemed appropriate to specific moments of the wedding celebration.[22]

With the dearth of Jewish weddings in the small Bessarabian towns after the 1970s, the remaining local lăutari no longer had a need to be familiar with the Jewish versions of the dance. This fact was demonstrated to me rather dramatically in 2008, at the home of lăutar Teodor Coman in Mainz. As the German film crew from the Other Europeans Project in Weimar were filming, he and his son – the noted violinist Valeri Coman – attempted to play a formerly well-known Jewish *khosid* melody. This very tune had been recorded by Dave Tarras in New York in 1925. They had evidently not performed it for a long time, so they had to agree on the tempo and rhythmic phrasing. When I rose to perform a few basic dance gestures, Teodor stared, and stopped playing his violin. He looked pleased and announced in Russian: "Tak tantsivali ran'she!" (That's how they used to dance!).

Thus, the existence of the two corresponding "transitional" instrumental repertoires within Moldova brings to the fore the subtle musicological issues of "intonatsia" and "ethno-hearing."

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[19] Feldman 2020; "The Bulgar: a Transnational Klezmer Dance Genre," in Feldman 2016: 347-366.

[20] Forty years after the Holocaust they begin to be called "Hussin" or "Hussar," showing a confusion of categories, now that the lăutar musicians were no longer playing at Jewish weddings, or having occasion to speak Yiddish. According to my fieldwork in Chişinău and Edineţ (2011-15) both Jewish and non-Jewish Moldavian musicians of the post-WWII generation often refer to a binary Moldavian *hora* performed at a slower tempo and in Jewish style as a "hussar."

[21] Feldman 2016: 324.

[22] See Feldman 2016: 315-46 ("The Khosidl at the Interface of Mystical and Secular Expression").

INTONATSIA AND ETHNO-HEARING

Divergent attitudes of different ethnies toward accepting or rejecting musical material coming from "outside" was already documented among native peoples in the South West of the US in the 1930s.[23] But the most consistent and elegant definitions of the "microlevel" of ethnic performance practices was the discovery of Russian ethnomusicology. This had its beginnings in the later Tsarist era, but was refined and codified in the earlier Soviet period, especially by Boris Asafiev and later by Izaly Zemtsovsky (Petersburg and California). Using terms such as "intonatsiia"[24] in Russian, and "ethno-hearing"[25] in English, this broad theoretical approach posits the existence of a cultural consensus within each ethnos about the expression of many musical features, such as 1) rhythm and tempo on every musical level; 2) about the attacks and approaches to a pitch; 3) to the timbral coloration of the human voice or especially legato musical instruments, etc. While individual musicians may create certain styles or techniques, within a "traditional" and largely oral musical culture, performance practices must meet the approval of the larger society, which set limits on the individual musician:

> "A human being perceives the musically meaningful formation (in Russian, *intonatsiia*) and our perception transforms listening into hearing, acoustical sounding into musical intoning. Sound (as such) only indicates the meaning whereas intonatsia creates it in the process of active music performance and perception...Intonatsia is always at the center, between music-making and articulation, and all the three are governed by ethno-hearing."[26]

Where two or more cultures and languages meet geographically or socially, musical items or whole genres are often borrowed, but only once they have been adapted to the dominant "ethno-hearing" and "intonatsia" of each culture. Within Eastern Europe examples abound; e.g. shared musical genres of Turks and Greeks in the Aegean/Bosphorus area; multi-ethnic "Macedonia"; and shared instrumental repertoires of Moldavians and Jews in Bessarabia. The insider to any of these cultures (or even the musically informed outsider) can immediately perceive whether he or she is listening to a Turkish "zeybek" dance melody or song or to a Greek "zeimbekiko"; to a Moldavian "bulgărească" or to a Jewish "bulgarish".

The stylistic difference between the Ashkenazic North and the Ashkenazic South was included within the broader distinctive musical "intonatsia" developed by the Eastern Ashkenazim. This distinctive intonatsia for Ashkenazic vocal music

[23] Herzog 1936.
[24] Asafiev 1947, 1987.
[25] Zemtsovsky 2012, 2018.
[26] Zemtsovsky, communication 03/2019.

was already referred to by Beregovski in 1928.[27] Indeed the earliest commentator on the klezmer performance – the Russian musicologist/musician Ivan Lipaev – already sensed something of the workings of this system when he penned these lines in 1904:

> "If you listen to and sort out in detail the music of the Jewish musicians you will catch its rhythmic and melodic development, and of necessity at last you will reach the conclusion that all the foreign melodic lines were gradually blended into a single harmonious whole, and reworked within the crucible of the Jewish national feeling and soul. The only thing that was touched rather little was the song 'Volokh,' that is, 'Wallachian,' but even it, in the end has become unrecognizable."[28]

Even decades before the term "intonatsia" had acquired its distinctive meaning within Russian musicology, our author anticipates its usage in describing the Jewish klezmer performance and compositional structures. It is striking that even in 1904, and even as far north as Petersburg and Vitebsk – where Lipaev had heard klezmer performances – the Moldavian ("Wallachian") element in the repertoire was noticeable and distinctive.

The related issues of intonatsia and ethno-hearing impinge on compositional style in many subtle ways that have not been fully explored in almost any musical system in the world. While some aspects of "intonatsia" may be represented through Western staff notation, others demand different kinds of indication or description. The issue of musical intonatsia involves both musical description synchronically, and the creation of hypotheses about diffusion, stability and change diachronically.

One of the most obvious areas amenable to analysis is musical tempo. Within villages and sometimes nearby towns, it is possible to map typical understandings of tempo in dance. Within the same country whole regions may present distinctive usages of tempo for folk dance, whether for the same dance type or for different dances. These differences in tempo imply different conceptions of posture and body movement. Within the borders of modern Greece, for example, differences in dance tempo frequently distinguish folk dances of the mainland from those of the islands. Deeper into Eastern Europe, Ashkenazic Jews consistently had danced at a much slower tempo than neighboring peoples. This had been true even in Moldova, and even in the cases where dance repertoires had been borrowed in both directions. A cultural consensus on tempo will lead to differing treatments of similar

[27] Beregovski/Slobin 2001: xii.
[28] Lipaev 1904: 171.

melodic material within neighboring musical cultures wishing to adapt aspects of the neighboring music.

Apart from their cultural specificity within the historical and social relations, the repertoires under discussion here furnish intriguing examples of cultural decisions about performance practice and compositional style. Within the East European Jewish and Moldavian musical cultures the dual "transitional" repertoires present very rich materials to analyze the functioning of intonatsia. Of course recorded sound is capable of far-reaching comparative analysis. But even in the cases where only notations survive (which is true for most of our present material), the aspects of identity and divergence point to general rules of ethnic intonatsia. Several such cases are evident in the Moldavian Songs of the Cup, to which we will now turn our attention.

MUSIC OF KHOSID/HUSID IN THE SONG OF THE CUP

Our earliest documents of this repertoire were notated in 1938 in Romanian-speaking villages in the region of Cernăuți (Czernowitz) by the musicologist Pavel Delion (1913-1997), from a leading local fiddler, Father Ion Chiriac (1893-1986), who was also an Orthodox priest. Delion was then a local music teacher, and his fieldwork was as part of an expedition organized by the noted Romanian sociologist Professor Dimitrie Gusti. In this pre-Holocaust collection, the largest part of the *cântec de pahar* melodies are described as "Husid."[29] Most of the *cântece de pahar* have a dance-like character, but usually not closely related to any twentieth-century Moldavian dance repertoire. Connections with various East European Jewish repertoires occur, coupled with the fact that the *cântec de pahar* repertoire is open to new Jewish additions, these appear significant to the genesis of the genre. A substantial group of such "Songs of the Cup" were recorded in the 1950s and 1960s in the villages of Bessarabia, and published by Professor Petr Stoianov in 1972.[30]

Although instrumental wedding melodies appear in both inter-War and more recent Moldavian collections, for our purposes we will focus on the pre-Holocaust repertoire of Chiriac, collected by Delion, and the somewhat larger corpus edited by Stoianov. The other wedding tunes in Stoianov (e.g. no. 413 or 416) are in an

[29] These were published by Pavel Delion (Delion 1994). I owe my acquaintance with this rare publication to Christina Crowder. The klezmer connections of this extremely interesting collection – including also *horas*, *sârbas* and *bulgăreascas* – will have to await a separate study.

[30] Inexplicably, the recent comprehensive *Antologie de folclor muzical...* (Blajinu 2002) contains no examples of the important wedding table genre, although he does reproduce other pieces from the Stoianov collection. Blajinu includes a short section of "Melodii lăutăreşti," which are mainly lăutar horas.

instrumental lăutar style of the later nineteenth century, which are written "ad libitum" and are meant for violin, or in the style of the *horă lăutărească* in 6/8, with long held notes, frequent ornaments and runs (e.g. the *cântecul miresei*, "song of the bride" no. 366). A number of weddings tunes of Chiriac use these structures as well (no. 9, no. 10). The table songs in Stoianov however are always metrical and rather symmetrical in structure; in general they occupy the interface between dance music and song. One piece that is metrically more full (i.e. running 16th notes) and is arpeggiated is described by Stoianov as *joc cu paharul* ("dance with the cup"); although some of the "songs of the cup" have the same character (e.g. no. 330). Stoianov's no. 337 seems to be one such tune (also in the repertoire of the late German Goldenshtayn, 1934-2006, a Jewish clarinetist from Ataci, northern Bessarabia, who was documented in early 21st century Brooklyn). All of these sources demonstrate that a dance-related instrumental repertoire of Jewish origin was played for listening at peasant weddings in Moldova, probably more in Bessarabia and Northern Bucovina than in the Regat. However, during a field trip to Iaşi in the 1990s, the Romanian ethnomusicologist Florin Bucescu had told Christina Crowder that many *husid* (*husin*) tunes were known for the christening (*botez*) ceremony.[31]

Three of Chiriac's *cântece de pahar* are entitled "husid." These three are part of a large group of 14 tunes in the collection described there as "husid." While the modern editor of the collection does not understand the meaning of the term, it is of course the Yiddish term for a slower, usually solo men's dance (*khosidl*), mentioned above. By the post-War generation in Moldova *husid* was sometimes corrupted to "husin" or "hussar," and then confused with *freyliks*. According the Moldavian fiddler Teodor Coman (b. 1930 and interviewed in 2011 in Mainz), in his time the term *freyliks* was more common in Edineț and Lipcani, and *hussar* in Soroca and Bălți. Coman had learned a substantial *husid* repertoire from his Jewish violin teacher, who had studied in the Moscow Conservatory. Delion claims that Chiriac had studied the published violin method of Leopold Auer (St. Petersburg Conservatory) as an autodidact; but it seems unlikely that he could have achieved his notable success only by studying these books. Most probably he had also learned from a local klezmer or lăutar fiddler who had studied there. In general some towns of Northern Moldova had a rather sophisticated musical life, with a number of technically proficient musicians. The *khosidl* was a dominant folk genre, and so it must have been for Chiriac, growing up in the same region a generation earlier, where Jewish professional musicians held a very significant role in musical life. Two of his *husids* had the function of table drinking songs. A fourth *husid* (no. 13) was used for yet another part of the wedding, involving the crowning of the bride.

[31] Crowder: oral communication 2011.

Ex. 1a: Husid (Ion Chiriac, 1938)[32]

This "Husid" no. 13, the most elaborate in Chiriac's collection, was immediately familiar, first through its ca. 1912 recording by the klezmer Belf Orchestra from Podolia as "Na Rasvete" (At Dawn) a wedding ritual tune, then its 1927 recording by the Abe Schwartz Orchestra in New York as "Baym Rebbes Tish" (At the Rebbe's Table). In the same year it was also recorded by the clarinetist Kosta Gadinis, born in Siatista in Greek Macedonia in 1885, who lived in New York since 1915 and died there in 1987[33]. Issued for a Greek audience in America, Gadinis entitled his tune "Chasapiko Roumaniko." This is of course a reference to the other major genre shared by Moldavians, Jews and Greeks – the *kasap/hassapiko/sârba* – rather than to the *khosid/husid* per se, which probably

[32] All the following musical examples were expertly digitized by Ms. Christina Crowder, to whom I remain grateful.
[33] Kokkonis 2016.

would not have borne any meaning in Greek society. Nevertheless, Gadinis's version of this melody – while played considerably faster than any Jewish version, and conforming thoroughly to a Greek "intonatsia" – agrees in each of its three sections with these two recorded klezmer versions from Ukraine and from New York. This would suggest that Gadinis had actually learned the tune from klezmorim after his emigration there.[34]

Ex. 1b: "Na Rasvete" (Belf Orchestra, ca. 1912)

Of course in New York this musical/ethnic ambiguity was not a subject for scholarly papers, but rather for commercial speculation by record producers with specific ethnic clientele. And in this early period American academia took no interest in the documentation of the music of the recent immigrants – especially from Eastern Europe, who would be barred from entering the country after 1924. So, unlike the situation that would develop in the inter-war and post-World War II in nations like Greece, Romania or the Soviet Socialist Republic of Moldova, there was no official institution dedicated to safe-guarding the ethnic purity of the musical expression of these various immigrant groups in America.

[34] See a notated comparison in Ottens and Rubin 1999.

The opening four-measures of both tunes are basically identical – there can be little doubt that Chiriac was using something very like the known klezmer version as his reference. However, the two melodies diverge considerably thereafter. The fact that Chiriac uses the second section as a ritornello – a feature absent from Jewish versions of the tune – is also a major difference. What we may call the "common" Jewish version constitutes a very distinctive composition. While in general it may be subsumed in my category of "three section khosidls in Freygish",[35] its construction is somewhat more elaborate than any of them. Its melodic periods are particularly long – basically two units of 8 quarters, totaling 16 quarter notes. This feature alone tends to separate it from the khosidl as a dance genre. It is also not entirely unlikely that the Ottoman military (mehter) *peşrev* may have furnished a distant model for pieces with this relationship of melody and rhythmic cycle.[36] Thus it is probably not accidental that neither of its two commercial titles refer to dance explicitly. The Belf orchestra's Russian title "Na Rasvete" (*At Dawn*) would seem to refer to it as a Gas Nign – a "Street Melody" played to accompany the guests through the streets of the shtetl, as the wedding was breaking up, usually toward dawn. Abe Schwartz's title refers rather to an explicitly Hasidic environment at the table ("tish") of a Hasidic *rebbe*. This ceremonial table was the scene of a great deal of singing and at times of instrumental klezmer melodies "for listening," but not for dancing.

Beyond the opening four measures, however, the Moldavian melody shares very little with the Jewish original. It is entirely more symmetrical, without the elaborate musical "rhetoric" which distinguishes each of the three sections of the klezmer melody. Likewise it dispenses with the four measure cadence which is repeated at the end of each section. Nevertheless, its material seems to be drawn from other, somewhat more dance-like Jewish examples of the khosid genre. A good example of its possible sources is the tune recorded in New York in 1916 by the noted Romanian klezmer cimbalom-virtuoso Joseph Moscowitz, as "Sadegurer Khosid."

Utilizing very similar melodic material to "Baym Rebbes Sude," Moscowitz's tune is entirely more dance-like, featuring shorter melodic periods and more striking rhythmic figures. Its descending cadential formula in section III is almost identical the descending phrase in Chiriac's section III. The origin of this melody among klezmorim of the Sadegura Rebbe – precisely within the Bucovinian geographic zone in which Ion Chiriac lived – would strongly suggest that he had combined such phrases with the original klezmer melody found in the Jewish sources. It is even not impossible that such a combination had already been accomplished by klezmorim in the region, as Sadegora/Vizhnitz had a particularly

[35] Feldman 2016: 338-342.

[36] This thesis was part of my recent (2020) research as a fellow in the Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies, under the title: "Ottoman Musical Sources as Antecedents for the Ottoman Stock within the Klezmer Musical Fusion".

rich Hasidic klezmer tradition. The most well-known representative of this tradition was the tune later made famous in early twentieth century Palestine as the secular Hebrew song "Hava Nagila."[37]

Ex. 2: Sadegurer Khosid (Moscowitz, 1916)

The extended Romanian footnote after Husid no. 13 contained rather surprising information, describing a peasant custom after the Orthodox Christian wedding and the wedding feast:

> "Monday morning, after the conclusion of the 'first walk,' an older sister or another older female, removes the bridal headpiece. The bride then takes a headscarf and also a round decorated cap made of covered cardboard called a *cârpă*, and also known as a 'fes'. A long embroidered gauze scarf reaching down to the waist is draped around the headpiece (cârpă) of the young married woman. After the wedding, the special embroidered scarf is replaced by an everyday shawl or headscarf. The cârpă, covered by the headscarf, is a symbol of marriage and is worn into old age."

So, in this case we can see the ritualized, rather ceremonial musical character, not related to the older generation, but rather to the newly acquired status of the bride as a married woman. Evidently, in this Orthodox Christian peasant community, this enhanced status was expressed in the serious musical terms used by the Jewish khosidl. One can only surmise about the many generations of deep intercultural interactions that brought about such a musical and social result.

[37] I discuss this in my book chapter "Have a Hora: Coming to Terms with Hava Nagila", in my book in progress *The Elusive Klezmer*.

Ex. 3a: "La Nuntă", Stoianov no. 169, Mokra, Dubăsari

This piece is one of the earliest transcriptions in the Stoianov Collection. It had been notated by the well-known musician Vladimir Kurbet in the village Mokra, in the Transnistrian region of Dubossari/Dubăsari in 1949. Although the editor did not include it within the "Cântec de Pahar" category, its title "La Nuntă" (At the Wedding) suggests it must have had a related function. The klezmer imprint on the repertoire of another well-known inter-War Transnistrian folkloric collection[38] helps to explain the evidently close link of the this Moldavian melody with a Jewish source. The prominent klezmorim of Dubăsari in this period are also mentioned by Moshe Bik in his Hebrew article on klezmorim of Central Bessarabia.[39]

This was evidently a well-known tune, as it was recorded by Belf in Europe and was among Dave Tarras's first American recording, in 1925, under the title "Sha di Shviger Kumt." ("Quiet, the Mother-in Law Comes"). Tarras stemmed from a Hasidic klezmer lineage (the Tarrasiuks) from the same Podolian region of Ukraine where the Belf Orchestra seems to have been based. Belf's title, meaning "The Rabbi's [or the Rebbe's] Havdole," refers to the custom of Hasidim in Ukraine to dance with the rebbe after the close of the Sabbath, during the Havdalah ceremony (Yid. Havdole, written in Russian as "Gavdule"). Tarras's title, on the other hand, refers to the ritual dance of the mother in law at the wedding. As I have shown elsewhere, the identical corpus of tune were used by misnagdim as wedding

[38] Korchinski 1937.
[39] Bik 1964.

ritual tunes and by Hasidim as sacred dance tunes, or by misnagdim as khosidl tunes, imitating Hasidim.[40]

Ex. 3b: "Sha di Shviger Kumt" (Dave Tarras, NYC, 1925, "Dem Rebns Gavdule", Belf Orchestra, ca. 1912)

I discuss the Tarras version[41] as part of the "rhythmically dense khosidl repertoire in minor." Unusually, each of the three sections of this melody is created in a large rhythmic unit of 12/4, i.e. in 6 units of 2/4. This rhythmic break-up is also suggestive of the Ottoman usul (rhythmic cycle) *çember*, in 12/4, which was common in the *peşrev* genre. Each one of these sections contains a kind of 2 measure "motif." This motif appears as measures 3 and 4 of section I; in the same position within section II; and as part of the long cadence in section III. Of course such a prominent motif would be reflected in the gestural dance movements of the solo dancer.

Kurbet's transcription reveals "La Nuntă" to be essentially the same melody, but with several significant differences. Perhaps most strikingly, the 2 measure motif is totally absent. What we do see is a variant of the motif in section II, measure 3 and 4. Tarras also performs it in this way, but as a variant of the basic motif. But La Nuntă lacks any reference to this motif in its opening section I or closing section III. The twelve-beat construction of the khosidl is retained in La Nuntă's sections II and III. But it is strangely absent from section I, which has a

[40] Feldman 2016: 323-325.
[41] Idem: 344.

simply symmetrical repetition of 4 measures, totaling 8. This absence also does not permit the "rising" melody to fully express itself. Thus the two remaining sections – which are very close to the Jewish version – seem to lack their fundamental reference point in the original section I of the *khosidl* melody.

Another Moldavian treatment of a *khosid* melody can be seen in the Stoianov Collection *Hora* no. 155, played by Dumitru Vasile Coman, recorded in Chişinău in 1969. But a comparison with the known klezmer *khosid* repertoire reveals it to be a version of the tune recorded ca. 1912 as a "Khosidl" by the Podolian klezmer ensemble going under the name "Belf." These pre-WWI Belf recordings are major sources for the Khosid repertoire, and I include this on my comparative chart,[42] along with the parallel version in the Beregovski klezmer collection.[43] We will analyze the *khosidl* first.

Ex. 4a: Hora no. 155, from the playing of Dumitru Vasile Coman, Chişinău 1969, in the Stoianov Collection, 1972

Ex. 4b: Khosidl, as recorded by the Belf Orchestra, ca. 1912

[42] Idem: 334.

[43] I summarize here a much longer analysis from my book, chapter 14, pp. 333-336.

A transcription alone could never convey the actual musical communication of this khosidl. The clarinet (perhaps Belf himself?) leads the melody throughout. The tempo is remarkably slow at 72, although it will gradually pick up somewhat. By the second measure the clarinet takes advantage of the intonational capacity of the instrument by micro-tonally varying the pitch of the G note. The measure 5 is announced by a strong emphasis on E while the sixteenth notes of the descending sequence beginning in the next measure are notably uneven, and generally somewhat rushed. In the second measure of section (II) the opening D note is varied much like the note B had been in the previous section, and the descending sixteenth notes are noticeably slurred rhythmically. Beregovski documented the same tune (this time called *freylekhs*) from the clarinetist Barkagan (no. 146). The notes are identical, and the tempo mark at allegro moderato is the same as the faster tempo Belf reaches toward the end of the recording.[44]

The Belf *Khosidl*, like most of the Shabbos *zmiros*[45] has two sections of eight measures each. The first section uses a minor pentachord, of which the significant melodic movement is from the first to the fourth degree. The fifth degree appears only fleetingly in the middle of the third measure as a kind of variant of the melody stated in the opening two measures. In the later measures the fifth appears as two sixteenth notes as part of a descending sequence. As in the vocal examples Frigyesi analyzes, the second section begins on the third degree of the initial minor pentachord (G), and leaps to the fifth (d). When the major third degree (B) appears in the second measure we are aware that a major triad is being played, and this major third will continue throughout the eight measures of this section. Nevertheless, the melody displays no characteristic of a true major, reaching no higher than the fifth degree with no larger movement in thirds either upward or downward. The melody will return to the first section and will eventually close there, reinforcing the impression that it is basically a minor tetrachord. The melody of section (2) thus appears to base itself upon the third degree of a minor pentachord, a kind of modal variation within the minor.

The distinctiveness of the structure of this *khosidl* is brought out by contrasting it with essentially the same melody as it entered a neighboring non-Jewish repertoire, in this case the Moldavian. As Dumitru Vasile's brother Teodor pointed out, in 1969 no instrumental piece could be described officially as "Jewish" or titled with a klezmer-derived genre name, so this husid tune was included in the Stoianov collection as a "horă".

While we do not have access to any recording of Coman's version, the form the notation takes is in itself revealing. First of all, the chapter heading of the hora section gives a generic tempo mark for *hora* from 120-138 = <quarter note>.

[44] This can be heard on the reissue of "Klezmer Music: Early Yiddish Instrumental Music: 1908-1927. From the Collection of Dr. Martin Schwartz," Arhoolie Folklyric CD, 1997, track 20.
[45] Frigyesi 1998.

Thus, even at its slowest possible tempo this piece was played at almost twice the tempo of the Belf recording (!). This fact alone would demand a very different performance practice. There are other striking differences. We can locate section I of the Belf *Khosidl* as section II of *Hora* no. 155, where it is virtually identical. However section (Ib) of the hora (which is section II in the khosidl) begins with four measures that are somewhat different both rhythmically and modally from the Khosidl. Since these measures are no longer a "middle" section, modulating from an initial section in a minor pentachord, the "re-composer" (whether Coman or another Moldavian musician) felt free to alter the rhythmic structure so that it is no longer parallel to the other section of the tune. He will return to the Ashkenazic matrix when he reaches his second section, whose difference from the Jewish original is minimal. But the entire feeling of modal progression that links the two sections of the Jewish piece no longer functions in the Moldavian tune. Evidently this difference was intentional and was indicative of both what the Moldavian audience wanted to take and what they did not want to adopt from the Jewish khosidl.

Both the popular music in Istanbul and klezmer music in Galicia and Bucovina furnish intriguing parallels for another tune in the *cântec de pahar* repertoire. Stoianov includes as *cântec de pahar* piece, notated in 1966 (no. 338), which had also been recorded around 1910 by the Galician klezmer violinist Iosif Solinski as "Rumeinische Fantazi no. 3." Although his biography is obscure, it appears that Solinski – who recorded several sides in Lvov – originated in the region of Kolomey, in the extreme southeast of Galicia, bordering on Bucovina. The popularity of this mixed form in Istanbul gave rise to the new genre with the obscure name "longa," which the Turks regard as originating in "Eflak-Bogdan" ("Moldo-Wallachia"). These were often used as the final item of a fasıl suite in the nightclubs (gazino) of the capital, rather than as real dance music. The well-known dance tune published in Istanbul in 1912 (by Şamli Selim) as "Nihavent Sirto" by the violinist Kevser Hanim. Kevser Hanım's original title utilized the term "sirto", taken from Greek folklore (syrto), because by the early twentieth century the Romanian-origin *longa* and the Greek-origin term *sirto* (which had appeared somewhat earlier in Turkish urban music, by the mid-nineteenth century), were becoming confused. This can be seen as well in Tanburi Cemil Bey's recording of his "Nihavent Sirto" from the same period, which is structurally a longa. A modern Turkish editor of Kevser Hanım piece refers to it as "longa," since by the late twentieth century the term "sirto" was no longer in use for this genre. In fact a recent CD from Istanbul refers to this change in terminology in its title: "Sirto'dan Longa'ya" (*From Sirto to Longa*).

Although linguistically identical to the Greek dance form "syrto," in fact the Turkish "sirto" is derived from the Romanian term "sârbă." In Istanbul this had been an alternative term for *hassapiko sirba* (= Turk. Kasap Havası), the dance of the butchers' guild (Stelyo Berberis, oral communication, 2012). Early Turkish

sources also refer to this dance as "sirba." This very confusion of the Romanian and Greek musical elements (together with Jewish components) also indicates how these musical cultures had been blended throughout the Phanariot era and into the nineteenth century, and were regarded as virtually one by the Turks of Istanbul. Thus in the "mentalité" of the Turks in the turn of the century Ottoman capital, at a period when almost all of the former European provinces had been lost (following wars and treaties in 1878, 1909 and 1912), these Danubian tunes must have provided a bitter-sweet nostalgia. Thus in this case, we come full circle with Turkish, klezmer and Moldavian versions of the same item.

Ex. 5a: *Cântec de pahar* no. 338 (recorded in 1966, Floreşti)

No. 338 was also in the repertoire of German Goldenshtayn (1934-2006), as a Jewish tune, and his version was virtually identical to the one in Stoianov. Both of these in turn agree in most details with the recording made ca. 1910 by the Galician klezmer fiddler Solinski. The Turkish version – first published in 1912 by a well-known female violinist who taught in the Istanbul Conservatory, and still rather popular today in almost identical form – differs in several respects from the Galician and Moldavian versions. Nevertheless, the overall melodic direction, rhythmic formulas, and division into sections of the Turkish piece are essentially identical with its northern cousins. It is not at all impossible that the Moldavian versions documented after World War II were influenced earlier by the diffusion of Solinski's recording, which was on a European label and may have been sold in inter-war Romania. On the other hand, Solinski put his piece into a series of four

sides that he named "Rumeinishe Fantasi," indicating either that he was reworking previously known Moldavian lăutar or Moldavian klezmer material, or else composing new pieces in that style; quite possibly a mixture of both processes.

Ex. 5b: "Nihavent Sirto/Longa" (Kevser Hanım, Istanbul 1912)

But if the klezmer fiddle and cimbal recording may possibly have been also known in Istanbul, we would expect Kevser Hanım's version to be much closer to the purported "original." On the other hand it is doubtful that she could have claimed to be the "composer" of a piece that was widely known as a foreign composition. According to the Bucovinian fiddler Leon Schwartz (interviewed in New York in 1980) klezmer fiddlers from his region still occasionally visited Istanbul early in the twentieth century, and he had in his repertoire a "Turkish Prayer" (Terkisher Gebet) that such a klezmer fiddler created in Istanbul and brought back with him to Bucovina. Today only a few Turkish musical experts still connect Kevser Hanım with her "Nihavent Sirto", which is widely played in Istanbul as the "Nihavent Longa." This melody is too distinctive to be a reworking of a folkloric "archetype," there must have been a composer at work. Quite possibly the Turkish, the Moldavian and the Galician klezmer versions all go back to a lost "original." Perhaps this had been created by a klezmer or lăutar musician of the previous one or two generations, but his identity has evidently been lost to posterity. Nevertheless the piece or pieces that we have, in versions dating from 1910 to 1966 and later, exemplify this strikingly transnational process, leaving its

mark on the old gazino music of Istanbul, on the former klezmer music from Galicia to Moldova, and on the *cântec de pahar* of Moldova.

The *cântec de pahar* and the klezmer "fantazi" are nearly identical – it is the Turkish "sirto/longa" that stands somewhat apart, although nonetheless sharing the basic musical material. While Solinski's violin performance is truly masterful, his version is slightly more symmetrical than the Moldovan version. This is seen especially in section III which begins with an identical 'a' measure in major, repeated four measures later. In the Moldovan version, in place of an a-b-c-d structure the identical major-like modulation does not repeat after four measures but rather leaps up over an octave – from A to high c, and recapitulates the higher ambitus of the second half of section I.

Section I of the Turkish *sirto* echoes something of the rising ambitus of the Moldavian and Galician versions. But its section II major modulation is created within a highly symmetrical a-a-a-b structure that the other versions avoid. The minor returns in its section III, but with a more symmetrical rising and descending structure than in the others. On the basis of the publication/recording dates alone it would be difficult to prove the priority of the Turkish or the klezmer/lăutar versions. On the whole the striking originality of the latter versions suggest that the Turkish melody – which specifically echoes "Wallachian" prototypes – is somehow a reworking of a more complex melody originating somewhere in the Danubian territories.

BETWEEN MEMORY AND IDEOLOGY

Interviews today can no longer supply a cogent rationale for the full nature of this cultural combination seen in the Song of the Cup, which was already at the edge of living folk memory even when the earliest scientific documentation was undertaken in the late 1930s. We are left with analysis of the music itself, in its Moldovan, Jewish, Greek and even Turkish manifestations. It has been possible for researchers to compile some data on the past musical collaboration of klezmer and lăutar musicians, in a large zone stretching from Bucovina and Bessarabia all the way to Istanbul, since the second half of the eighteenth century. In the case of the Jewish klezmorim and the Moldovan lăutari there are documents, biographies and some interviews dating from the 1980s until the present that can shed light on this musical and social symbiosis.

In this case we are not dealing only with the Jewish klezmer musicians as skilled interpreters of an existing local musical style. Rather, from an early period the klezmorim took an active role in interpreting and shaping how this music developed. At the same time they were interpreting more typically Moldavian musical forms for a Jewish public. The creations of the Moldovan klezmorim and their lăutar partners became known among Jewish communities first of all in neighboring Galicia and Podolia, but also further north, into Belarus. They also seem to have inspired imitations among these local klezmorim. In their American

immigration two such klezmorim – Naftule Bradwein (d. 1963) from Galicia, and Dave Tarras (d. 1989) from Podolia – became active creators in this Bessarabian instrumental style. The lăutari fulfilled a similar function, interpreting and reshaping the creations of the Jewish musical culture for their Moldavian Christian clientele. In the case of the fiddler Ion Chiriac, he could fulfill this cultural function even while having the social role of an Orthodox priest.

Far beyond Moldova itself, we can observe the reflexes of this musical creativity in parts of Greece and in Istanbul, and then among the Jewish and Greek immigrant musicians in America, roughly between 1880 and 1950. Thanks to the existence of a commercial market for the '78 rpm recordings made in Istanbul, Athens and New York there exists sound documentation of at least certain movements within this broad musical phenomenon. Due to the demographic exigencies of emigration, however, these documents focused more on Jewish klezmorim from Ukraine and Moldova/Romania and Christian musicians from Northern Greece and Istanbul than on Moldovan lăutari, who did not usually form part of this emigration.

A secondary issue is how this material has reached us, and how its preservation and dissemination was viewed in the recent past by successive national governments within the Republic of Moldova and Romania, and by their scholarly and musical institutions. To a lesser extent both Greece and Turkey occasionally contribute some ideological or historical perspective. These official attitudes also affected musical scholarship, and hence the generally available interpretation of the nature of the musical relations of the past. In 1938 P. Delion could document an Orthodox priest/fiddler who described a substantial peasant wedding repertoire under the Yiddish name "husid." But by 1972 – when Petr Stoianov published his musical anthology – nothing Jewish could exist as a musical category. Stoianov, although he was able to label the music of his own ethnic community as "Bulgarian," could not use the term "Jewish" (*evreiească*) for a musical item. Nevertheless, his valuable collection abounds in Jewish klezmer tunes in the *horă*, *joc*, *hangu* and *bulgăreasca* genres, in addition to those in the *cântec de pahar*. With the emigration of most remaining Jews from smaller towns in Moldova in this same period (post-1970), and the decline of knowledge of the Yiddish language among the local lăutari, even the Yiddish name of the khosid genre – formerly simply adopted into Romanian as "husid," became distorted into forms like "husn" and even "hussar." Knowledge of the origin of the genre seems to have been largely forgotten or to have been suppressed in official publications.

As far back as 1972, while a Ph.D. candidate at Columbia University in New York – working on Soviet Moldova for a graduate seminar – I became aware of this issue. I was informed by a recently arrived Jewish immigrant – a former programmer for Radio Moscow – that presenting Moldavian folk music was a problem. Why? I queried. This was because so much of it was obviously Jewish, she explained. Over the past several years I have observed something of these

cultural and political dynamics in my conversations with Emil Croitor in Tel Aviv, who is perhaps the last major Jewish composer in Moldavian lăutar style. While he is himself a South Moldovan (from Cahul), he is acutely aware of the Jewish element in the older Northern style and repertoire. Some of his compositions attempt to blend both styles, and are still popular in Moldova long after he had immigrated to Israel in the mid-1990s. From my conversations with Croitor it became clear that by the 1970s cultural authorities in Chişinău had decided to encourage musical integration with Bucharest and with other regions of Romania. For the South of Moldova this was a fairly natural pattern, but for the North and some parts of Central Moldova it represented a drastic change from the local musical styles.

Within the Republic of Moldova this has become virtually an "invisible" issue. It has left no "paper-trail," and even the recordings of the radio in Chişinău from that era (1950s and 1960s) do not seem to have been preserved. Within both the radio and the Conservatory system the entire issue of the local history of the small-town musical traditions has been virtually erased. The same had been true of the repertoire presented during the Soviet period by the official Moldovan folk-dance troupe *Joc* ("Zhok"). When I observed their performance in Istanbul during the 1980s I was struck by the almost total absence of Bessarabian dances – let alone the Moldavianized Jewish dances – and the presence of many "borrowings" from various provinces of Romania quite distant from the Moldavian regions of that country.

In the decades following World War II only one small-scale study with notated musical examples (about the Central Bessarabian town Orhei) was published at all – but in Israel and in the Hebrew language.[46] Within Moldova the noted ethnomusicologist Vasile Chiseliță, at the Academy of Sciences, has been collecting material since the 1980s and has been publishing on this topic after the fall of the Soviet system. Only in our most recent research in the Northern town Edineț (2011-2015) has it been possible to make contact with the older generation of local lăutari (especially Tolea Ciobanu, Vanea Popov, and the late Aurel Ghada) who still recalled something of this earlier cultural dynamic. The current Edineț band-leader Popov also integrates aspects of the local style into his more recent compositions.

CONCLUSION

Moldova/Bessarabia has evolved patterns of dealing with its ethnic diversity that cannot be reduced to a simple competition of two or even three large ethnicities. The continued multiplicity of ethnicities (Romanians, Ukrainians, Russians, Jews, Gypsies, Bulgarians, Gagauz and Tatars; in the past also Greeks, Turks, Armenians and Germans), and some degree of assimilation and exchange of

[46] Bik 1964.

identities, resembles other multiethnic regions, such as Greek or Yugoslav Macedonia, rather than more homogeneous and politically hegemonic states such as the Regat core of the Kingdom of Romania. It also differs from a binarily divided and contested territory, such as Kosovo (Kosova), with its competing Serb and Albanian identities.

Musically the "Songs of the Cup" or "Songs of the Table" of the Moldovan peasant wedding of the recent past display a lively dialogue among the ethnicities that had formerly played dominant roles in the musical life, and to some degree also in the society of Moldova/Bessarabia. Most prominently we can see the Romanian-speaking Moldovans, their partly Roma lăutar sub-group, and the Ashkenazic Jews, with their musicians class, the klezmorim. Second to these are the Greeks with their links to the Ottoman capital Istanbul, all of which had become historical memories by the post-World War I era. Within this complex it is striking that the Moldovan peasant culture encouraged a musical expression for what might be seen as the most religious and the most secular extremes within this entire complex. These were the Hasidically tinged Jewish wedding dance known as "khosid," on the one hand, together with the memories of the *kasap* dance of the butchers' guild of Istanbul (related to the Moldovan *sârbă* and *bulgărească*) on the other. Together these were part of the dual "transitional repertoires" of instrumental folk music in Moldova – one consisting of Moldovan dance genres altered for the Jewish taste, and the other based on Jewish dance genres composed or performed according to the Moldovan taste. In addition both communities developed melodies based on earlier Greco-Turkish tunes reflecting both Moldovan and Jewish musical practices.

Thus it is of extreme interest to observe both how the musicians themselves, and how the cultural consensus of their respective communities acted to shape the "transitional" repertoires. These repertoires of Moldovans and of Jews evidence both an interest and a respect for the cultural productions of their neighbors speaking a different language and practicing a different religion. In a sense this Moldovan and international research – modest though it is in scope – can furnish a heuristically sound model in approaching several zones where cultures have experienced many generations of musical contact. And of course South Eastern Europe is extremely rich in such territories. Thus it is only by examining and comparing various musical, historical and ethnographic documents – along with some modern interviews – that something of these complex ethnic and musical interactions of the recent past can be reconstructed and defined.

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VOCI DEL SACRO: FILMING POLYPHONIC CHOIRS IN SARDINIA (VISUAL ANTHROPOLOGY NOTES)

RENATO MORELLI

ABSTRACT

In Cuglieri, a small town in midwestern Sardinia, festivities during Holy Week are traditionally accompanied by a small choir called a *concordu*. The choir is composed of four specialised male voices, and they perform the *Miserere* (psalm 50) and *Stabat Mater,* both in Latin, and both with highly complex settings. Their tradition has been passed on orally, and has miraculously been preserved to the present day, presenting an extraordinary musicological interest. The four elderly singers have been careful to pass on this important patrimony to their sons, and now they are finally able to sing together. The film *Voci del sacro* presents these two generations of singers while they are active in the three most intense and meaningful days of Holy Week. This article examines some methodological problems of visual anthropology, related to the making of this film (which has obtained four international awards): live sound recording, video recording with five cameras, interviews, museographic use.

Keywords: Visual anthropology, sound recording, multicam recording, paraliturgy, holy week procession, Sardinia, Cuglieri, traditional poliphony, multi part music.

AUTO-PRODUCTION REPORTAGE

Voci del sacro – Two generations of song and cuncordu during Easter Holy Week in Cuglieri (Sardinia) was researched and produced in 2014, but the idea for the film goes back some thirty years earlier. At that time, together with Pietro Sassu, I was completing filming and recording on location for the first discography collection of popular liturgical music in Italy: the "renowned" boxed set of four LPs (with an attached booklet), *Canti liturgici di tradizione orale*[1]. This piece of work was intended to fill a large void in Italian ethnomusicology studies,

[1] Arcangeli–Leydi–Morelli–Sassu (1987).

presenting for the first time an organic and broad panorama of popular liturgical music, and thus an important aspect of national ethno-phonic patrimony, which until that time had been sadly neglected and only in part documented.

Photo 1: The 2011 reprint of *Canti liturgici di tradizione orale* (original edition 1987), first discography collection of traditional liturgical music in Italy

On the four LPs of the set, two were concise treatises dedicated to the Italian region of Sardinia. Right from the beginning, this did in fact seem a bit unbalanced, even considering the wealth of the well-curated Sardinian *corpus*. Precisely for this reason, together with Pietro Sassu, I had put together a cinematography project in order to adequately present the depth and thoroughness of the Sardinian *a cuncordu* repertoire. The project had initially involved a treatise on Santulussurgiu, with the hopes of later including Cuglieri, Castelsardo e Orosei. In 1987 I presented to the RAI a project entitled *Studio di comunità cinemato grafico a Santulussurgiu*[2] based on an earlier completed project concerning the Ladino population in the Fassa area, co-production with the Ladino Cultural in Institute[3], citing various previous acknowledgements, favourable international comparisons, and possible synergies with the Superior Regional Ethnographic Institute of Nuoro[4].

For various reasons, including complete insensibility on the part of the RAI in Caglieri, the project was never undertaken[5]. However, the following year, luck would have it that an opportunity arose to produce a short episode regarding Easter Holy Week, although it was not possible to include an entire cinematography study of the community. In this way, *Su concordu – Settimana santa a Santulussurgiu (OR)* was conceived, a film which I made with the scientific consultation of Sassu, produced by the RAI (DSE and Trento)[6]. With this film, I won the *Enrico Fulchignoni* prize at the *Bilan du Film Ethnographique* in Paris in 1989.

[2] Morelli (2013), p. 88.
[3] Morelli (1988).
[4] Morelli (2013), p. 90.
[5] Rossitti (2001), p. 13.
[6] Idem, pp. 78-81.

Photo 2-3: 1988, Santulussurgiu (Sardinia). Shooting the film *Su concordu – Settimana santa a Santulussurgiu*, with 16 mm camera *Harriflex* SR (photo archive Morelli)

In the same year, there transpired another particularly significant event for our research on *a cuncordu* singing in Sardinia, which requires a brief introduction. In the preceding years, in the course of various research trips with Sassu to Spain (Mursia and Andalusia, and in particular, in Alcalà del Rio), we had already identified and documented several rites of the Deposition of Christ (*Desiendimento*) very similar to those in Sardinia (*Iscravamentu*). Further, statutes dating from the 1500s from some Sardinian confraternities[7] are in Castilian Spanish and the same *Iscravamentu* rite shows unequivocal ties with Spain. However, there being no Spanish tradition whatsoever of polyphonic singing, Sassu and I hypothesized a possible tie between *cuncordu* singing and the Byzantine tradition. In fact, the patrimony of liturgical songs matched the presence of important ecclesiastic institutes, above all monastic centres, since the first Basiliani and Studiti Byzantine settlements from the ninth century. It should also be remembered that Sardinia, from the sixth to the tenth century, was not a part of the Roman Catholic church but rather the Byzantine Eastern Orthodox church. Certainly it was difficult if not wholly impossible to find written documentation, due to the fact that many written accounts – also in the post-war era – were lost to the great bonfires of documents, books and music in abandoned monasteries and convents.

In the meantime, a progressive awareness of tradition was evolving in several *cuncordu*, above all in the beginning of the eighties when they were invited to participate in prestigious international music conventions, in this way coming into contact with other different musical traditions that nonetheless presented various similarities. Examples include Corsica, Sicily, Liguria, Appulia, and Campania. In this way, curiosity also grew, along with the necessity of comparative historical investigation. In this context, the *S. Croce* confraternity of Castelsardo, aware that I would soon be travelling to Caucasian Georgia, asked me to bring a Georgian choir to Sardinia in order to study possible ties with Georgian culture.

[7] For further reading on the *casazze*, the Ligurian confraternities, refer to Bernardi (1991).

In this way, the *7° Rassegna internazionale di canto sacro popolare* became something of a legendary. In September 1989, in the cathedral of Castelsardo, I brought together the Georgian choir Tbilisi *Georgian Voices*, the *a bordone* singers from Ceriana (*Mamme canterine* and the *Sacco* company), an authoritative vocal delegation from Corsica, an elderly group of singers from Bosa, and, of course, the best known singers from Castelsardo. For the *S. Croce* confraternity (together with the l'*Istituto Superiore Regionale Etnografico Sardo*), it was an organizational and economic feat without precedent. For me personally, bringing the Georgian choir to Italy was a crazy and daring undertaking, having to navigate unbelievable soviet bureaucracy at the tail end of the cold war era (the Berlin Wall would fall exactly two months later). In any case, the undertaking finally came off without a hitch, although whether or not the Georgian choir would actually be able to come or not remained up in the air until the last possible moment, and their return to Caucaso was even more dramatic.

Fortunately – at least in this case – the RAI in Cagliari was very helpful, making available a mobile recording and filming facility with three technicians, which allowed me to have a dignified and serious filming of the entire event.

This brings us up to 1993, when another important event occurred regarding our research of *a cuncordu* singing in Sardinia: the publication of the discographic series "Music and memory" *Musica a memoria – Repertori di tradizione orale,* the series *Sardegna, Confraternite delle voci, Canti liturgici di tradizione orale,* in four CDs with accompanying booklet, a dedicated treatise on the tradition of Castelsardo, Santulussurgiu, Cuglieri, Orosei[8].

I funded this series privately in its entirety, using the winnings from a very interesting cinematographic prize; in 1992 I had won the prize for *Miglior film in pellicola* at the Sixth International Conference of Ethnographic and Anthropolgic Documentaries in Nuoro, Sardinia, with the film *La danza degli ori – Il carnevale tradizionale di Bagolino, Ponte Caffaro*[9].

This was a very important award, not least of all for the financial aspect. At this point, for many reasons, I chose to consider the prize as a sign of destiny, or better, a sort of "votive offering", and I decided to devote the entire amount to the production of the discographic series *Musica a memoria*, an editorial project that Pietro Sassu and I had long dreamed of.

This series represented the first systematic contribution to the awareness of this extraordinary repertoire, at that time quite unknown outside of a very small circle of experts. It also marked the debut of an editorial house (*Nota* by Valter Colle) which was destined to become an internationally ranked producer of world music, second only to the *Smithsonian/Folkways* institute of the US government.

[8] Morelli (2013), p. 95.
[9] Idem, p. 96.

THE CONCEPT OF THE FILM

Notwithstanding having won the *Enrico Fulchignoni* prize at the *Bilan du Film Ethnographique* festival in Paris in 1989 and having received other international recognition,[10] I was unable to convince the RAI to become involved in an ethnographic production in Sardinia at the level of their involvement in Santulussurgiu. In the case of Cuglieri especially it had been very disheartening not to be able to fully document this extraordinary musical rite. Unlike all other areas in Sardinia where these traditions have survived intact, the verses of the *Stabat Mater* the *Miserere* are not sung while stationary, but in procession. The choir sets up in a semicircle with the *bassu* occupying the centre spot, flanked by the *contraltu* on the left and the *tenore* on the right (this voice sings the leading melody); a little set off from these three *tenore falzu* (false tenor). The three-voice polyphonic vocal texture is particularly complex, further enriched intermittently by the *tenore falzu*[11].

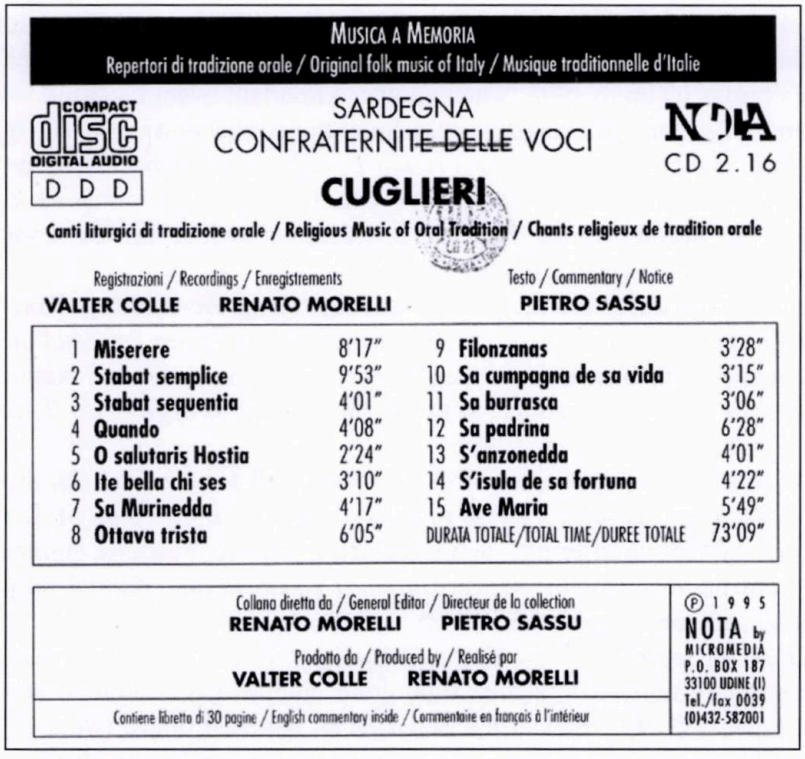
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Photo 4: 1995, CD *Cuglieri* (Sardinia), series *Confraternities of the voices*,

[10] Morelli (1993).
[11] For the musicological analysis of these songs, refer to the text by Oliver Gerlach.

Liturgical songs of oral tradition

The ceremonial-processional cycle takes place over three days – Thursday, Friday and Saturday – and is an extremely moving and emotional event. It obviously represents great challenges from a cinematic filming perspective, being a performance that is in continual movement. Parts of the procession take place in the darkness of the night, presenting lightening difficulties not easy to overcome.

For years, I had promoted this cinematographic enigma to colleagues, students and technicians, but none of them had taken up the challenge. It bears mentioning again that in 1993 I had produced the four-Cd series *Sardegna, Confraternite delle voci, Canti liturgici di tradizione orale* (Nota, Udine) with the conviction that this extraordinary repertoire was at risk of extinction, and firmly convinced that it was well worth preserving for future generations.

A surprise, and also the catalyst for finally setting in motion the project, did not arrive until some twenty years later in 2013, at the Sixth International Convention of Popular Music organized in Ponte Caffaro by the cultural association "Ones"[12], where I had been invited to give an introductory lecture on *a cuncordu* singing in Sardinia. In preparation, I met again with the elderly singers in Cuglieri, whom I had met and recorded almost thirty years earlier in 1985. In the intervening years, they had fortunately passed on the traditions of this important patrimony to their sons, and they were now all singing together. The younger generation – little more than adolescents – had of course grown up with rock, metal, rap and other pop music influences, but during Holy Week sang this complex and ancient traditional repertoire alongside their fathers. This happy discovery naturally led to the idea of creating a film following these two generations of singers. Here it is necessary to point out that the film is not intended as an extensive and complete coverage of Holy Week in Cuglieri. This ritual cycle is extremely complex and involves the presence of various *a cuncordu* choirs which alternate continuously in the performance of single verses. There is also the all-important decision of which choir will be the one to start, which is generally made at the last minute and creates yet another difficulty for cinematographic considerations. In 2014, when the film was finally made, there were two *a cuncordu* groups, and they were of course fiercely competitive; exploring the dynamics between the two choirs would be worth a separate film! Another consideration involves the church, whose "official" point of view does not always coincide with the wishes of the singers. The rituals and traditions of Holy Week are numerous and vast, and one could conceivably create several films covering the various distinct aspects.

I made a precise directing decision – that of avoiding any claims of having covered the three days in their entirety, focusing instead on the two generations of

[12] https://bagolino.org/Convegno2013/index.html (02/03/2018).

singers in the single choir. I realised in advance that a large crew would be necessary to produce such a film as this, requiring five cameramen, a sound technician and a director. Further, I was aware that it would be quite impossible to obtain the required funding to meet the budget of the project. After several inconclusive attempts, I decided to produce the film entirely by myself, involving trusted friends[13] and "drafting" my two daughters, Livia and Bice into service. The post-production phase was also very complex, due to the challenges of live sound recording, and the editing phase was necessarily complicated and time consuming. All told, it took three months, and is a great testimony of the patience and professionalism of film editor Sara Maino. The production, I must repeat, was entirely self-produced and self-funded, made without any contributions or public funding of any kind.

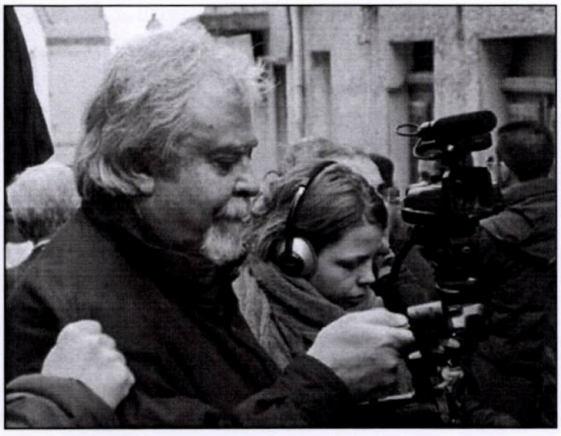

Photo 5: 2014, Cuglieri (Sardinia). Shooting the film *Voci del sacro*:
Renato Morelli camera, Livia Morelli sound engineer (photo archive Morelli)

As stated, the film presents and compares the two generations of singers while they are involved in the three most intense and meaningful days of Holy Week. On Maundy Thursday, after the *Missa in coena Domini*, the nocturnal procession to visit the "tombs" takes place. All of the confraternities and their choirs take part in the procession, and perform the *Stabat Mater semplice*. Good Friday is the busiest of the three days and presents a dense schedule of events. In the morning, the simulacrum of Christ (traditionally a statue with moveable limbs) is nailed to the cross. Immediately after, around 11 o'clock, a penitent shoulders the *contra-rughe* and carries it in a non-stop procession to the Basilica, located at the apex of a rise of circa 800 metres. The *contra-rughe* or "counter-cross" is a heavy cross which is set up in the centre of the transept and serves during the deposition as a support for the crucifix with the simulacrum of Christ. The

[13] I asked the great musician Gavino Murgia for assitance, and he "sent" me his friend Paolo Carboni.

penitential carrying of the cross is a much coveted honour; the prioress keeps a register of all requests, which may also be made on the behalf of a child in infancy; it may take decades before finally receiving this great honour. The next event is the procession of the crucifix, accompanied by the *Miserere* sung by all of the confraternities. The crucifix is followed in the procession by Our Lady of Sorrows, and proceeds to the Basilica where it is affixed to the counter-cross. Immediately after, the procession returns to the convent with Our Lady of Sorrows, accompanied by the choir performing *Stabat sequentia.* In the late afternoon, this same procession returns to the Basilica bearing a litter, again accompanied by the choir. Here, there are prayers for the *s'iscravamentu* (deposition), which is acted out as a drama. Bearing the likeness of Christ on the litter, the final procession of the evening forms up; singing the *Miserere*, the procession leads to the chapel of the confraternity. On Easter Saturday, all of the confraternities meet at the Basilica and embark on a final *Via Crucis* which involves visiting the various allegorical tombs. The choir sings the *Stabat Mater sequentia.*

NOTES ON METHODOLOGY

The film *Voci del sacro*, although completely self-produced, is typical in every way of the characteristics and methods of the sixty ethnographic films that I produced for the RAI in the period 1979-2007[14]. It represents the constant striving to unite rigorous scientific research with the requirements of appropriate cinematographic syntax in a film commission for public television broadcast.

Each one of my films is intended as an annotated elucidation following research conducted *in situ.* They represent an intense visual documentation which have received significant recognition, including twenty international prizes[15], and have stimulated a series of methodical reflections regarding visual anthropology, in part outlined in this brief essay. They are not, therefore, research films nor a visual chronicling in support of written reportage, nor are they documentation of recorded events without vision nor initial comprehension of the events unfolding, such as may be seen in the celebrated sequence of conflict among three bloodlines in a Yanomamo tribal village filmed by Timothy Asch in *The Axe Fight.* According to Karl Gustav Heider, the value of an ethnographic film is directly proportional to the value of the research and analysis that precede filming[16]; Richard Collier[17] is of the same opinion; for him, the guiding measure for evaluating an ethnographic film can be found only in the reconnaissance of the actual site pertaining to the film. *Voci del sacro* adopts these criteria, having been preceded by much on site research

[14] Morelli (2008).
[15] Ibidem.
[16] Chiozzi (1993), p. 129.
[17] Collier (1980).

with Pietro Sassu, as detailed previously. Certainly, in the mid-eighties when we first began to think of this film, it would not have been at all possible to even imagine a self-financed production, given the prohibitive costs inherent in film itself as a medium and in cinematographic post-production. The recent rapid technological evolution of digital film recording and post-production, together with my refusal to not give up notwithstanding numerous failures and false starts, allowed the realisation of this project. In abstract, the film was deemed impossible, but it finally became reality although I had to assume myself all of the funding, and much of the responsibility for the organization and complex methodology.

Photo 6: 1992, Cuglieri (Sardinia). Good Friday (photo archive Morelli)

AUDIO RECORDING CONSIDERATIONS

Live sound recording has always presented the central difficulty in all of my films. This was especially true in Cuglieri, where the vocal music – always performed while moving in procession – constituted the most important part of the film. My attention to the ethno musicological aspects of traditional culture has a long history, dating from the very first of the *corpus* of ethnographic films that I have produced for the RAI from 1979 to 2007[18]. In these films, live audio recording was always a decided problem, but one which I have always met with almost maniacal obsession, working with a particularly talented and expert sound technician.

The passage from 16 mm film to digital video has created the illusion that a sound technician is no longer necessary. For our film about Cuglieri, which was filmed in HD video using professional cameras with excellent digital sound capabilities, the involvement of a sound technician might have seemed unnecessary and superfluous. In fact, many colleagues these days tend to film without a sound

[18] Rossitti (2001).

technician. In my opinion, however, a high quality live sound recording remains a central issue, and presents many contingent difficulties. Certainly, high quality results are not possible if you rely only on the fixed, automatic, built-in microphone on a video camera, or use a sound technician without the necessary experience and knowledge.

And so it was that also for this film, I took on the inherent difficulties of live sound recording with my usual obsessive determination, providing a recording sound technician *ad hoc* (my daughter Livia) with a mono boom-mounted *Bum* microphone, monitored constantly with headphones, together with two video cameras, operated by myself and Stefano Menin, filming respectively wide-angle and close-up, and constantly positioned in front of the singers. In this way we became expert at walking backwards, and did so continuously for three days in a row. In the final mixing, we used a combination of the mono track from the *Bum* together with the two stereo tracks from the video cameras.

Photo 7: 2014, Cuglieri (Sardinia). Shooting the film *Voci del sacro*: Renato Morelli and Stefano Menin camera, Livia Morelli sound engineer with *Bum* microphone (photo archive Morelli)

VISUAL RECORDING CONSIDERATIONS

For the video recording too, it was unthinkable to commit any errors. At least five video cameras were required for an adequate documentation of the various phases of the ritual, and also to allow for different camera angles in the final editing (more details follow). In addition to the two cameramen mentioned above, who, together with the sound technician were always in front of the singers, I decided that it was necessary to have three more cameramen in the crew. These included Paolo Carboni, Sara Maino and my daughter Bice, to whom fell the responsibility of filming various angles of the numerous rites, following a detailed plan worked out ahead of time with the singers.

Photo 8: 2014, Cuglieri (Sardinia). Shooting the film *Voci del sacro*: the 'penitent' carries the cross (photo archive Morelli)

We of course tried to reduce the invasive impact that filming inevitably can have on a religious ceremony that is sacred to the community. This «problem of inserting oneself unobtrusively» – as defined by Claudine De France – is central for visual anthropology in general. It involves the process of the filmmaker-anthropologist building up trust in order to «be accepted by the filmed subject, with or without a camera, and to convince them that it is in their own best interests to collaborate in the making of the film»[19]. Often the filmmaker encounters reticence on the part of the subject to being involved in a film production; this is not an easy obstacle to surmount, nor is overcoming it a given. It represents, however, the *conditio sine qua non* for making a successful film. Some poor examples of ethno-anthropologic filmmaking fail precisely due to a lack of attention to this very important detail necessary in every single moment before and during filming[20].

In the case of Cuglieri, this potential problem was in reality quite insignificant and almost completely absent. This was due to the deep bonds of friendship and reciprocal respect built up over thirty years. Their desire to help make the film a success was apparent from the very beginning, and the singers were hardworking, eager and generous. I discussed at length with them my general work plan and procedure and the movements of the crew, listing beforehand all potentially invasive technical moments in order to be fully understood and achieve full cooperation.

However, another difficulty presented itself – that of crowding and intrusiveness by other amateur and professional photographers and tourists. Holy Week necessarily brings out a large number tourists sporting handy cams, iPhones, selfie-sticks, etc. and, in addition, there was another crew of professional cameramen

[19] De France (1981), p. 53.
[20] Morelli (2014), p. 44.

filming a documentary on Cuglieri and necessarily on hand for Holy Week. There were also some fifty researchers present who had been brought to Cuglieri by Giovanna Marini for a study vacation during Holy Week. In short, there was a crowd of both amateur and professional photographers and audiophiles, all bent on getting exclusive footage and recordings of the most important moments of Holy Week. The crowds pushed in on the singers at every turn of the processions through the ancient narrow roads, and at first it seemed impossible to work at a high level as planned. The crowd intrusion increased further at the most important moments of the ritual, for example the *Iscravamentu*; it seemed as though every single person in Cuglieri was pushing forward to gain the best position, as close as possible or even hanging onto the cross; for this reason, the segment of the *Iscravamentu* became quite short in post-production editing. We could only use segments tightly framing the subjects in order to avoid showing the writhing masses of photographers that continuously jostled their way on screen. Also, in the accompanying audio, of course recorded live, there is interference and you can hear the continuous clicking of camera shutters from the many photographers in the crowd.

Photo 9: 2014, Cuglieri (Sardinia). *Iscravamentu*, rite of the deposition of Christ (photo archive Morelli)

THE INTERVIEWS

Unlike the film *Su concordu – Settimana santa a Santulussurgiu,* which was precisely structured around a story told through visual imagery, without either direct interviews or off-screen narration, for Cuglieri interviews occupy a central position. As the focus of the film is on the comparison between the two generations of singers, I had worked out an unfolding storyline related through a progressive

series of questions for the pairs of singers (father and son). I decided to let them be the central characters in their own story, thus precluding any off-screen narration, working instead on direction and spontaneous screenplay.

Each interview lasted around an hour and a half, with four father and son pairs. Additionally, there was an interview with Gianni Desogos – the "narrator" singer – who explained the most important phases in the whole ritual cycle, also detailing various symbolic and ceremonial aspects which might otherwise have escaped unnoticed. The interviews, therefore, amounted to some seven hours. Considering that the entire film lasts forty-five minutes, it's obvious that the interviews all underwent precise content selection and cuts, all subjects having been filmed continually by two coaxial video cameras, one at a distance and the other closer to the subject.

Regarding the interview methodology, I made use of some proven techniques from several of my past films. In actuality, more than interviews, they are instead first person narration by those involved in the story. The interviewer, positioned just below the lens of the camera, does not ever appear in the scene, while the subject of the interview seems to address the viewing public instead of turning toward an unseen interviewer (as is often the case in television interviews). This is a technique used in many of my films, starting with *Le stagioni di Liz – Ciclo dell'anno contadino in alta Val di Fassa* (1982) where the interview assumes the role of the narrator instead of leaving this role to an off-screen voice. Other successful uses of this technique can be seen in *Il guardiano dei segni* (2002) with first-hand accounts told by artist, shepherd, poet and ethnographer Gianluigi Rocca. This technique was also used in the film *La bòta – Canto e lavoro dei boscaioli in Valfloriana* (1991) with the elderly forester nicknamed *Basso* who relates and explains this work song, and demonstrates the ancient tradition of transporting timber down from the mountains and the building of a woodpile[21].

TIMELINE

There was a final obstacle to surmount: how to reflect the concrete passing of time through the three days, especially on Good Friday with its numerous processionals over a span of twelve hours, from 10 am to 10 pm. We found the solution using an unobtrusive visual cue that was effective, although the application was not always easy: a large round analogic clock that appears as an overlay in the lower right hand corner when it is necessary to indicate the time of various events.

MULTIPLE-USE RECORDING AND MUSEOGRAPHIC USE

In the final film it was obviously impossible to present the various songs

[21] Morelli (2008), p. 114.

performed during Holy Week in their entirety. It's enough to realise that a single verse of the *Stabat Mater semplice* lasts, on average, nine minutes, a verse from the *Miserere* up to fifteen minutes, and one from the *Stabat Mater sequentia* around eight minutes. It was therefore necessary to select performance highlights, which was a difficult and somewhat painful process, given the wealth of quality material collected.

Photo 10: 2014, Cuglieri (Sardinia).
Shooting the film *Voci del sacro*: the singers

In any event, from the beginning the project was aimed at the possibility of including full-length audio performance material as an extra section on the DVD. The organization and attention given to the recording allowed us to vary the use of the recorded material, including material originally discarded during the final cut for the film. For *Voci del sacro* we ended up with a total of thirty-five hours of video in HD; the film lasts forty minutes. The ratio between filmed material and the final film is therefore 1:50, and at first consideration might seem to be a great waste. However, given the idea of "differentiated editing" things change quite a bit. Careful filming allowed for the production of a "short" edited version, necessary for the narrative rhythm and the cinematographic film timing; a longer edited version was also possible allowing for museographic use of the collected material, or multimedia possibilities for ethnographic exhibition, one of the principle reasons for undertaking the project. If, therefore, the reality of filmmaking required editing the songs into shorter segments with some left out altogether, the careful recording of the entire repertoire allowed us to create a longer version in post-production, with the entire volume of Holy Week songs inserted on the DVD as bonus tracks.

This was not the first time that I programmed recording for multiple uses; between 1982 and 1988 I had done precisely this with a recording of the Ladino population of the Fassa Valley on 16 mm film, compiled for the RAI together with

the Ladino cultural institute, *Majon di Fascegn* in Vigo di Fassa and the scientific consultation of Cesare Poppi[22]. Thanks to a project aimed at multi-use editing[23], from the accrued material I also managed to prepare a series of sixty short single-concept films, each one or two minutes in length. This series acts as the basis of so-called multimedia support system (MSS, or SSM in Italian), one of the most interesting features of the new Ladino Museum in Vigo di Fassa: it comprises fifteen information points throughout the museum in four languages, run by a computer network with interactive touch screens. Through the use of images, animation, music and sound, the MSS is able to explain the various museum exhibits and permits a true interactive multimedia experience[24].

In conclusion, through the methodology described, beginning with a precise recording plan worked out after long preparation (the fruit of "traditional" research conduction on location with proven written anthropology methods), provided only with an entirely self-funded budget (no public funding), it was possible to create a film which has won multiple prizes[25], and which – finally – presents and archives this complex and extraordinary polyphonic vocal tradition of *a cuncordu* singing and ritual still used today in Cuglieri.

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[22] Morelli–Poppi (1998).

[23] Morelli (1985), p. 17.

[24] The entire MSS collection with all sixty single-concept films, can be viewed online at www.scrin.net (31/7/2014).

[25] *Premio Cineteca Sarda*, "Fiorenzo Serra" competition, Sassari, 2015; *Grand Prix – Golden Turon*, 19° *Etnofilm Festival*, Čadca, Slovacchia, 2016; *Award for the Contribution to Intangible Cultural Heritage Festival of Ethnological Film, Belgrado*, Serbia, 2016; *Award for the Best Contextual Application of Sound Festival of Ethnological Film, Belgrado*, Serbia, 2016. The film was moreover chosen in the official selection of the following film festivals: *Religion Today* film festival, Trento-Gerusalemme, 2015; *Concorso "Fiorenzo Serra"*, Sassari, 2015; *Accademia delle scienze*, Dipartimento musica "Bartok", Budapest, 2016; *Grotowki Institute, VoicEncounters*, Wroclaw, Polonia, 2016; *ICTM Audiovisual Ethnomusicology*, Ljubljana, Slovenia, 2016; *Traditional Polyphony*, Tbilisi, Georgia, 2016; *Etnofilm Festival*, Čadca, Slovacchia, 2016; *Festival of Ethnological Film*, Belgrado, Serbia, 2016; *Days of Ethnografic Film*, Ljubljana, Slovenia, 2017; *Trento Film Festival – Eurorama*, Trento, 2017; *Etnofilmfest*, Monselice, 2017; *Festival del film etnomusicale*, Firenze, 2017; *Apricot tree film festival*, Yerevan, 2017; *Colocviile „Brăiloiu"*, Bucharest, 2017.

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THE MODAL STRUCTURE OF THE *CANTU CUNCORDU* FOR THE HOLY WEEK AT CUGLIERI

OLIVER GERLACH

ABSTRACT

This article was added on request by Renato Morelli who asked me for transcriptions and also asked questions about a possible influence of the local Byzantine heritage on the island of Sardinia. Since the transcription does not simply explain the modal structure of para-liturgical chant for Good Friday at Cuglieri, this article tries to offer comparisons with other traditional music of the Mediterranean, its various religious backgrounds in-between Rome and Constantinople, and the analytical challenge of those glissandi used by the traditional singers of the Sardinian village Cuglieri within the modal context of singing the *Miserere* and the *Stabat mater*.

Keywords: para-liturgy, Good Friday procession, Sardinia, Cuglieri, cantu cuncordu.

1. INTRODUCTION

Renato Morelli and his long fieldwork about the *cantu cuncordu* in Sardinia did offer me a splendid introduction into the Sardinian para-liturgy. My own fieldwork started with my decision to dedicate my research to the field of the *Arbëresh* (Italo-Albanians) and the *Grikoi* (Italo-Greeks) of the so-called "Sud". My first recordings were made in May 2006.

I came for the first time in my life on the island of Sardinia during summer 2015. I realised soon that all my studies concerning the history of the Italian peninsula and of the island of Sicily were not sufficient to understand the unique history of Sardinia. I bought various books to get a first idea. I made first recordings at Cuglieri and at Silanus, but I needed to go to Georgia in order to find what I was looking for. During September 2016, I could meet the group of traditional singers «Cuncordu lussurzesu» together with Renato Morelli. A friend of Tbilisi did ask me to accompany her together with this ensemble to the local Patriarchate, where I had to interpret and to introduce this group to the journalists.

For this purpose the singers had to tell me in a few minutes about their local heritage and about the few pieces they did record at the studio of the patriarchal radio station. Among those pieces there was one which was not part of the repertoire of the own village, rather a kind of clandestine anthem to celebrate Sardinian patriotism. It was a parody of a devotional song which was not dedicated to a saint, but in fact to those tyrants who had occupied the island.

In March 2017, Renato Morelli entrusted me generously with some extracts of his fieldwork made during the Holy Week at Cuglieri in 2016, with the request to prepare a modal analysis on the base of my own transcriptions. For his contribution I decided to offer in exchange some historical considerations which might be useful to get a deeper understanding of this tradition.

2. A BYZANTINE TRADITION?

According to my fieldwork it is likely that forms of Orthodox faith could survive or had been revived under Roman administration in certain cases. I described these forms as subaltern Orthodoxy.[1] In case of the para-liturgy celebrated during the Holy Week, these forms are the Greek *trisagion* as the Orthodox counterpart of the *Miserere,* the three *Egkomia* of the Good Friday threnody or *Epitaphios Threnos* which already belongs to Holy Saturday, since the liturgical day always begins with the preceding evening (*hesperinos*), and precedes the procession, and the para-liturgy of the *kalimeret* sung in dialect. The latter have not survived on the island of Sicily, but within Italo-Albanian and Italo-Greek communities of the mainland.[2]

The custom – that a local brotherhood (*confraternità*) sings the *Stabat mater* and the *Miserere* during processions of the Holy Week – is known all over Italy outside the Greek rite.[3] Like many other areas of the Mediterranean, also Sardinians are very proud of their local history and its complexity, including a long Byzantine period since Justinian's re-conquest in 534 until the Norman conquest of the Andalusian provinces in North Africa by the end of the 11th century.[4] The oldest

[1] Gerlach (2016).

[2] *Kalimera* derives from Greek "God day", since it is supposed to be sung during the night between Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday, also within the linguistic islands of Salentine and Aspromonte Greek. Only within Arbëresh communities, where the Greek rite is still celebrated, there is the custom to sing the *kalimeret* in the church like a liturgical celebration of its own, every Friday during Lent and especially during the Paschal Triduum (between Maundy Thursday and Holy Saturday). Belluscio & Gerlach (2016).

[3] Renato Morelli (2015) also mentioned the Spanish background of the custom of the deposition of Christ (*iscravamentu*) which can be dated back to the period of Spanish rule (1479-1718).

[4] During this period the Metropolitan sea of Cagliari belonged to the diocese of Carthage which was administrated by the Patriarchate of Alexandria. The schism had no relevance for the church administration, it was nothing more than a scandal between the Patriarch Michael I Kerularios and an Apulian Cardinal who agreed that they did not support the political alliance between pope Leo IX and

churches which are still preserved belong to the Byzantine period. Except of these archaeological monuments, urban excavations, or the caves of Sant' Antioco, neither liturgical customs nor *typika* of the Greek *metochia* or monasteries which did once regulate the coenobite life of their community have survived.[5]

My first encounter with the *cantu cuncordu* in Tbilisi gave me an impression of a local heritage which is unique in the world and intimately connected with the rural life of the local population of Sardinia. The example of the Sardinian anthem clearly proves that the history which connects the inhabitants of the island is the common experience of tyranny and occupation during various periods in history until the present day, since local peasants and their cattle have to suffer from irresponsible weapon experiments of the *Poligono sperimentale* of the Salto di Quirra.[6] With respect to Cuglieri an ethnomusicologist might do comparisons with *glissandi* used in other traditions such as the ekphonetic style of Constantinople or the *Gospin plač* (Stabat mater) sung on the island Hvar in Croatia.[7] From this point of view the local *cantu cuncordu* version of *Stabat mater* at Cuglieri seems a

the Byzantine emperor. The papal excommunication of the Patriarch had no effect, since it was in the name of a pope who had already died as a war prisoner of the Normans. On the other hand, two letters by Leo IX (PL 143, cc. 727D-731B) inform us that one bishop of Carthage asked to intermediate within a conflict between five bishops which had remained among more than 200 who were once present in Africa. In church history Greek clerics in Italy had been subjected to Roman administration under the Normans, because the latter had to recognise papal primacy among the other Patriarchates which never had any effect in the past before the Norman conquest. Finally, the papal reform was successful in Southern Italy, but in practice it was a long process over centuries which followed the synod of Melfi, when catholic clerics had "solved" the differences of the so-called "Oriental schism" in absence of the Byzantine clergy in 1059. We simply know, that according to Sardinian history the rise of four Judgedoms was about the millennium and the sacred monuments of the 11th century clearly belong to this era, when Sardinia was divided into four administrative areas. In 1063, Barisone I of Torres asked various groups of Benedictines to re-organise monasticism on the island, but a ship with twelve monks from Montecassino Abbey who tried to embark Sardinia by the order of abbot Desiderius, was burnt down by pirates on request of Pisan aristocrats near the Isola del Giglio. I published my contribution about the history of "il Sud" within the Acts of a conference at Cassino, but papal primacy had no great impact on Sardinia, where the organisation of church provinces within the Judgedoms had to face quite different political problems due to the rivalry between Genoese and Pisan aristocrats concerning the sea power. At the end, after pope Alexander II's intervention and donations by Barisone (the Byzantine churches of Santa Maria di Bubalis and of Sant' Elia di Montesanto), two Benedictines from Montecassino did finally arrive in Sardinia and founded a small convent next to the Byzantine church of Santa Maria di Bubalis in 1065. Today, it is known as the archeological park Nostra Signora di Mesumundu located at the province of Sassari. See also my article about Byzantine Italy (Gerlach 2012).

[5] Rossana Martorelli recently (2014, 2015) published about the excavations of Byzantine Sardinia and about Greek monasticism, also about the later period of the Basilian monks.

[6] It also includes experiments with radioactive weapons organised by the German company Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm (MBB) between 1988 and 1999: http://www.mein-italien.info/wissenswertes/sardiniens-geheimnis. htm.

[7] For para-liturgical tradition of Hvar and the monodic Gospin plač a CD has been published by the local brotherhood *Hvarski kantaduri*: http://www.croatianhistory.net/glagoljica/gl_pjevanje.html. For the patriarchal tradition of the ekphonetic style: http://analogion.com/site/html/EkphoneticStyle.html.

multipart realisation of a very similar monodic concept. At the end, there might be the conclusion that there is a diversity of the Mediterranean, where it is hard to trace a local tradition back in its history and how it could survive a long history of violent repression. Until the present day Christian communities of the Adria and on various Mediterranean islands are somehow in between Constantinople and Rome, and there is as well the history of lay brotherhoods on the islands of Corsica and Sardinia which offer a very rich field of various para-liturgical traditions which had fortunately not often been touched by liturgical reforms.

3. THE ANALYTICAL CHALLENGE COMING FROM CUGLIERI

The problem of the *glissandi* which characterise the *cantu cuncordu* of Cuglieri, challenges a modal analysis according to musicological methods. During a reunion of ICTM at the Fondazione Cini of Venice in 2015, I arranged a dialogue with Ignazio Macchiarella about his fresh ethnomusicological approach to analyse multipart singing.[8] I mentioned that methodologies of historical musicology have actually a profound need for a permanent exchange about the manifold forms which can be found in field recordings of living traditions. During my studies at Basel I had met Howard Mayer Brown, who invited students to discuss with him motet compositions of Josquin Desprez. Many musicians who did study at the *Schola cantorum*, frequently joined the Musicological Institute to exchange with him, but his lessons were somehow surprising for us all:

> This motet has a certain *soggetto* [sings it on the syllable "ba" with his voice which has a unique croaky sound] and I had a certain idea of how to analyse it… But… it didn't work out… To be honest, I do not know how to analyse this motet! Maybe some of you might have a better idea…[9]

Like often, each village of this field has not only its own way of singing and its own melodies for the same texts, already the Sardinian terms for the the local concept of multipart singing do change. The *cantu a tenore* and *cantu cuncordu* are not so easily to separate as some might think, since both terms are sometimes used as synonyms in certain villages, used among others such as *cussertu, cunsonu* o *cuntrattu*. Hence, there are some aspects like the vocal technique that the para-liturgical tradition has in common with other forms of *canto popolare,* despite the fact that *cantu a tenores* uses certain modal patterns and multipart progressions to improvise a text for a particular occasion, while the *cantu cuncordu* refers to a

[8] Macchiarella (2012).

[9] His visit will always remain in my memory, since he did not show up by the end of the semester, because he actually died during his visit of Venice during Carnival. As a student his lesson made me laugh like the rest of the audience. It needed some years to understand that it was a true lesson of modesty from a well experienced scholar behind his light and witty attitude. Today, nothing is left than to read his manual (1976), where he introduced into his concept of modal analysis of Renaissance polyphony. Usually it works, but not always.

certain common liturgical text (psalm 50: 3-21 in case of *Miserere*) and to the mode of its plainchant tune, often in a rather deliberate way.

At Santu Lussurgiu, the village next to Cuglieri, the four vocal parts are called, starting with the higher register and concluding with the lowest, «cuntraltu, oghe, contra» and «bassu». The terms derive from the 15th century, when it was custom to prepare a two-part composition consisting of the *tenor* and *superius* which could be performed with two additional parts called "counter" (*contra bassus, contra alto, contra tenor* etc.), because they followed one part in its register and in consonances, while a consonance between two counters was merely a coincidence.

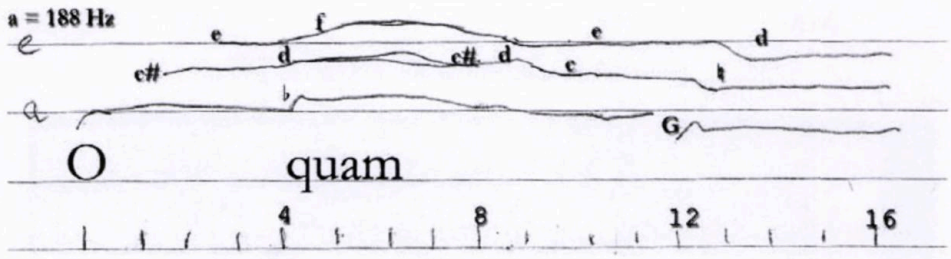
3.1. Stabat Mater Semplice

In the case of Cuglieri, Renato Morelli referred to the interviews, he made with the singers. The term «tenore» refers to the *soggetto* of monodic plainchant. The «bassu» opens each section and is surrounded by the other singers of «tenore» and «contr'altu», while the «tenore falzu» opens the circle of four parts, the circle is the usual way of four singers to stand together during multipart singing in Sardinia, towards the march direction of the procession. During the *Stabat mater semplice*, the latter part joins the other singers later, after the triadic sonority opens to the range of one octave during the word «benedicta». At the beginning three voices sing in parallel trichords, since the word «fuit» *bassu* and *tenore* sing in octaves, while the *contr'altu* makes the fifth with respect to the *bassu,* from «benedicta» it proceeds from the fifth to the sixth and thus, it prepares the later turn of the *tenore falzu* who adds the new base tone of the triad (at the time mark about 1'46", counted from the beginning of the third stanza «O quam tristis»). It means that the octave between *bassu* and *tenore* has become the upper note of the triad: the upper fifth with respect to the *tenore falzu* which explains its function as a kind of pseudo-tenor. At the very end, the *tenore* sings the untramsposed *soggetto* of the very beginning without any register change: e–f–e–d, while the *bassu* has already arrived at the lower tenth (concluding on B flat), while the *contr'altu* did follow the *bassu* in fifths. Thus, the *tenore* remained without any transposition or register change, but singing the highest note a tenth over the final B flat of the *bassu* it has indeed changed its role.

These changes within various sonorities already give a certain structure to the verses of the stanza. On the other hand, the modal analysis already reveals the different roles of the parts, but also changes between these roles including direct switches between different parts, as they happen to each singer during the performance of one stanza. E.g. from the very beginning each triad is always major, which means that the fifth between *bassu* and *tenore* is usually divided by a third voice following the *bassu* in a major third. This part is characterised as an addition of a *musica falsa* or *ficta*, since C sharp is not part of the diatonic scale. The singer at the right hand of the *bassu* is the *contr'altu*, although he follows the *bassu* first, while the singer at the left hand has the part of the *tenore*. For this very reason I transcribed the first note of the *bassu* as *a mi,* because he follows the

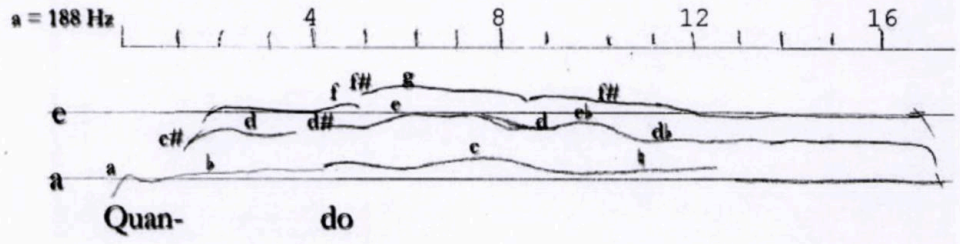
soggetto of the *tenore e mi–f fa–e mi–de re*, while the *contr'altu* makes a major chord between them, although a minor one is expected from a modal point of view. Since the measured and confirmed frequency of the *a mi* in the *bassu* has 188 Hz and *e mi* of the *tenore* has 284 Hz (in proportion of a pure fifth 3:2).

At the beginning the *soggetto* is an open cadence (*cadenza fuggita*) of the hypophrygian mode: *e mi / f fa \ e mi \ d re*. It opens the melos towards another hypodorian tonality based on *re* which is a common element of the E mode. It is not the *tenore* who usually makes the intonation for the other singers as a kind of precentor, but the *bassu* in the centre who follows the *tenore* in lower fifths. Within this *cantu cuncordu* this progression in parallel fifths is as well followed in parallel thirds by the part of the *contr'altu* which follows the *soggetto*: *c sharp mi / d re fa \ c do fa \ b natural mi re*. The inner soul of this progression or cadence are not only the *glissandi,* but also the modal attraction between the degrees of the mode (*phthongoi*). Today, Western musicians and musicologists have moved so far from musical modality and its *mele* that we are tempted to call this concept "Byzantine" or at least "Orthodox", but it is the fundament of oktoechos modality and its melopœia, concerning monody as well as polyphony.



Ex. 1: Transcription of the glissandi at the beginning of the third stanza

A comparison with the final stanza proves that the first section finishes about a major second too high, caused by the permanent *glissando* between the parallel voices at the very beginning. The result is *that* the singers, and with them also the listeners, get lost: *e mi / e sharp mi / f sharp mi / g fa \ f sharp mi \ e re* (ex. 2).



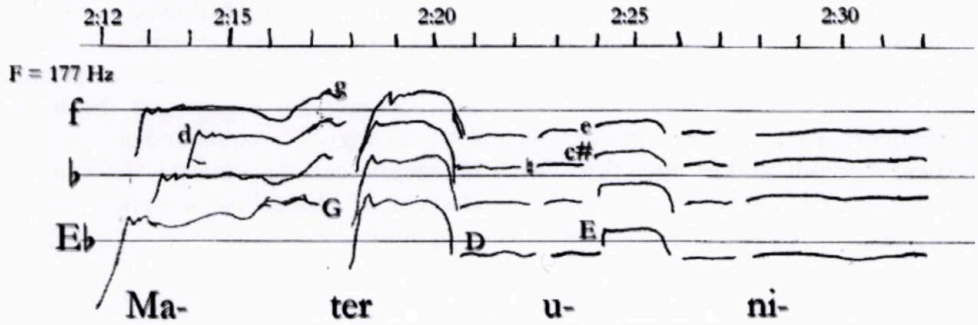
Ex. 2: Transcription of the glissandi at the beginning of the last stanza

The reason is that the perception adapts with the *glissandi*, so that the

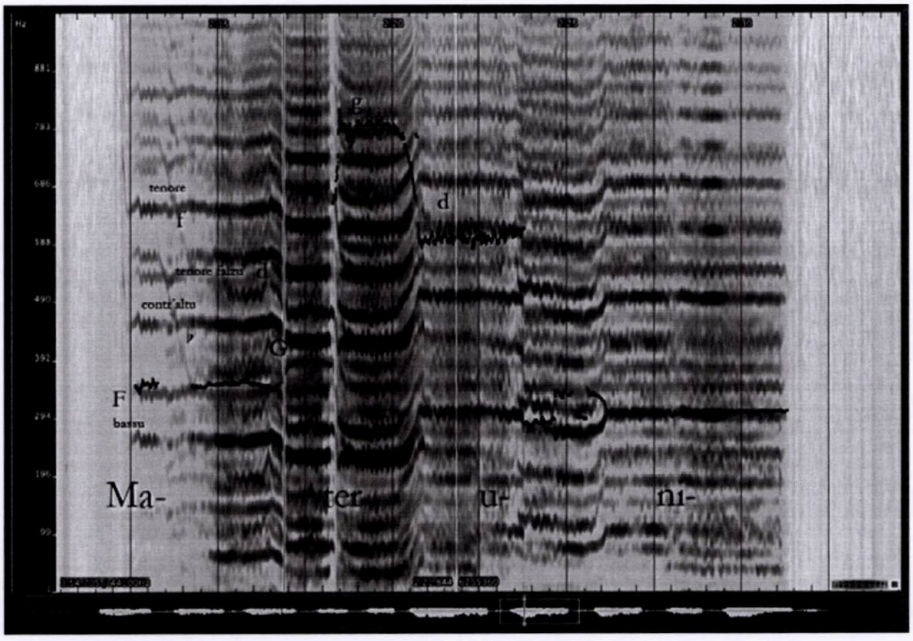
contr'altu begins a half tone too high with the effect that the modal progression and its melodic attraction looses its direction: *d mi / e flat fa mi \ d flat fa re.*

The *tenore* is not really descending, but the other voices, the *bassu* from *a mi* down about a minor seventh until *B flat*, while the *tenore* sings the *soggetto* without any transposition *e mi, f fa, e mi, d re* impersonating the role of the *contr'altu.*

For this descent falling *glissandi* about larger intervals are needed like the *glissando* about a fourth at the second syllable of «mater», while the *bassu* follows the *tenore* in octaves:



Ex. 3a: Transcription of the glissandi at «Mater uni[geniti]»

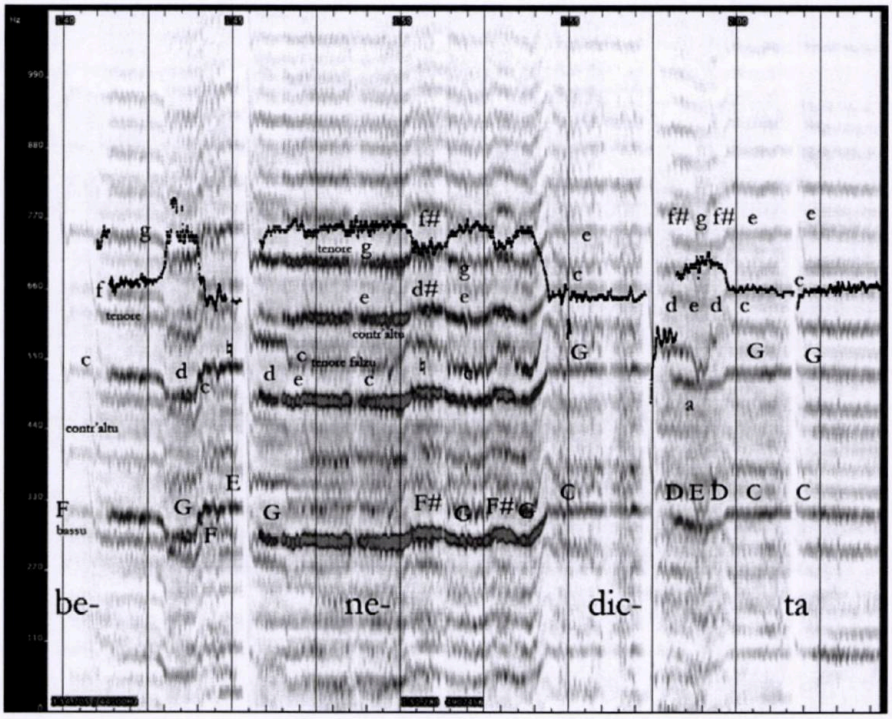


Ex. 3b: Annotated spectogramme transcribed by the MELODIA plugin (sonic visualiser)

Already before, when the *tenore falzu* joins the other singers for the first time, there is a descending *glissando* about the interval of a fifth in the part of the *bassu,* while *tenore* and *contr'altu* make a *glissando* about a third. Right after this *glissando* the *tenore falzu* already changes the role, because he continues the burden tone on *G sol* of the *bassu* who started the burden short before the *glissando* (ex. 4).

Already at the cadence of this section the *bassu* already reaches C, while the *tenore* finishes a tenth higher at *e*.

Not even at the end of each stanza with the *Stabat mater semplice* there is a conclusion at the phrygian cadence. Thus, the form is kept open, as if it would continue the descending progression towards a lower ambitus.



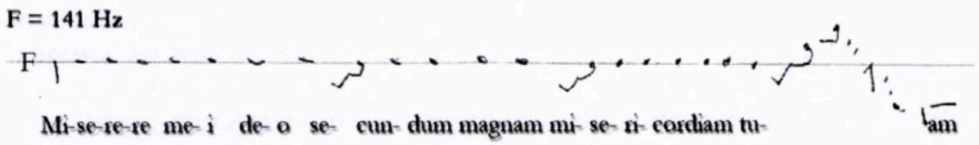
Ex. 4: Annotated spectogramme transcribed by the MELODIA plugin (sonic visualiser)

3.2. Miserere

The mode of the «Miserere» is very close to the tune used at the next village Santu Lussurgiu.[10] There, the precentor uses the following modal intonation (*enechema*):[11]

[10] Listen also to the final sound example at the end of Ignazio Macchiarella's article (2009).

[11] The following transcription is based on a video I made during their spontaneous performance at the patriarchal church of Tbilisi on 28 September 2016.

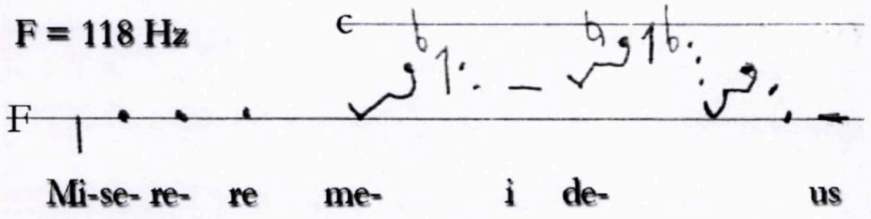


Ex. 5: Intonation of the *Miserere* as sung by the Ensemble «Cuncordu lussurzesu»

It can be classified as hypolydian church tone (*tritus plagalis*) which uses b flat over the recitation tone (*repercussa*) *F fa* before the melos descends to the plagal fourth under the *finalis*.

With respect to Cuglieri, the whole solistic intonation is sung in multipart, at the beginning in the parts with the *bassu* on *F fa*, the *contr'altu* adds *c sol*, and finally, the *tenore* starts in the upper octave (*f fa*). The *Miserere* opens with this perfect sonority, concerning the alternating change between an ascending b natural and a descending b flat it uses the same progression already described during the analysis of the *Stabat mater*.

If one would transcribe the intonation of the *tenore* into Italian neumes which lies hidden behind the multipart texture, it would look this way:



Ex. 6: The modal intonation as soggetto or cantus firmus of the multipart version sung at Cuglieri

In comparison this intonation would be rather classified as the lydian church tone, but one should note that the authentic melos usually includes in its ambitus the plagal fourth under the modal degree of the *finalis* F.

4. CONCLUSION

Hopefully these exemplary analytical insights based on short extracts can already offer a first impression of the unique style of the local *cantu cuncordu* tradition of Cuglieri. A more complete analysis will be published within a book dedicated to the subject.

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SACRIFICING SONS AND DECAPITATED HEADS: A GIFT OF SEVERED HEAD IN THE MYTH OF BARBARIKA

KARAN SINGH

ABSTRACT

The folk myth of Barbarika, metamorphosed in folk deity of Khatu Shyam, points to hybrid space formation within Indian folk space through union between Aryan and *Rakshasa* cultures. The myth brings to fore a process of creation of severed head as a sacred object and its position as a marker of heroism through ultimate sacrifice within Hindu culture by creating a correlation between demonic body/*daivic* soul. With its situatedness in folk culture of North India, the myth points to the processes of contestation, amalgamation and transference within folk and classical religious spheres and their role in delimiting binaries between Aryan/Dravidian, nomadic/agricultural, patriarchal/matriarchal provinces.

Keywords: folklore; Puranic tales; Khatu Shyam; Barbarika; severed head.

The present paper has been divided into three sections. While the first part investigates theoretical dimensions of interconnected motifs of sacrifice, severed head, and *dan*, gift, to understand their salient features and consequent ramifications in both western and Indian contexts, the second part dwells on the myth of Barbarika as related in both classical and Indian folklores, in its multiple variations. The third part of the paper analyses this myth in the light of historical, social, mythical and psychological frameworks.

I.

A. (sacrifice)

Within western discourse, the idea of sacrifice, as revealed in biblical contexts, Greco-Roman myths and through investigation of anthropological data collected in nineteenth and twentieth century of diverse cultures, initially saw sacrifice as a primal event which created social formations and acted as a reference point for civilization. This view has been explored in some detail in Sigmund

Freud's *Totem and Taboo*, Max Weber's *The Sociology of Religion* and Emile Durkheim's *The Elementary Forms of Religion*. These texts posit sacrifice as an important mytho-historical aperture from which most of subsequent social structures can be viewed. These theories of sacrifice within the modern anthropology and sociology were further developed by Marcel Mauss and Henri Hubert. While Helene Foley, commenting on Greek myths like those of Polyxena and Iphigenia, makes a comment that these myths contain within them "the uncomfortable memory of human sacrifice" (Foley 1985, 39), for Marcel Mauss, exchange of gifts creates a bond, an obligation between the donor and the receiver. When applied on sacrifices, through them human beings create a bond between themselves and divinity: "Sacrificial destruction implies giving something that is to be repaid" (Mauss 1966, 14).

The etymology of sacrifice can be traced to Latin term *sacrificium* which is a combination of *sacer* meaning 'holy' and *facere* 'to make' thus creating an implication of 'to make holy', a meaning which covers both senses of 'to give'/'to donate' as well as 'to kill to appease Gods.' Both these connotations work together to complete meaning of sacrifice which offers a ritual activity in which humans/animals were killed in a gesture of thanks giving to supernatural powers or for their appeasement in return for a benefit. The implications of sacrifice as a carnival of gratefulness to supernatural powers for their protection and continued benediction is shared by Miranda Aldhouse Green who refers to the celebratory nature of sacrifices which were part of annual rituals in ancient civilizations like Greek: "The very word 'holiday' (holy day) specifically links sacral activity with celebration. This essentially positive attitude to sacrifice in antiquity may explain why, for the ancient Greeks, it was important for the animal victims of sacrificial rites to consent–at least in symbolic terms–to their deaths" (Green 2001, 19).

Within the western ritualistic studies wherein initially sacrifice was seen as an oblation of animals or humans to deities, the investigations slowly became part of social studies in which they were seen as complex social rituals with their implications in social structures, cultural aspirations and psychological imperatives. Mary Storm tellingly separated five shared characteristics of sacrifices–sacrifice as a transactional bridge, sacrifice as substitution, sacrifice as a vehicle to control social violence, sacrifice as a creative reiteration and sacrifice as religious irony. (Storm 2013, 27-32). One important aspect of sacrifice which attracted attention of sociologists was a connection between the violence and the sacred. The violence in sacrifice can be seen, on a particular level of cosmology, as related to a primordial shock of separation which acted as precursor of all violence in future societies. The existential fears of mankind and their desire to imitate the primal creation brought into fore the infliction of pain and suffering as a natural cycle in human life. Most of the ancient religions accepted violence as a part of human existence and tried to control it through initiatory rites. The violence of sacrifice thus can be understood both as part of the cosmic violence and its control through the medium of ritual.

The violence within sacrifice in this sense becomes a reflection as well as a mechanism to control the larger violence. The sacrifice, thus, coheres around the control of violence and its encasing within the defined structures so as to tame its contingent, chaotic nature.

With this idea of violence as a cathartic device through which primitive societies purged themselves of its inherent contradictions, a need to find a surrogate becomes imperative. While revealed religions like Christianity accomplished this transference of suffering through the concept of Christ as a Lamb of God and deification of his suffering for removal of the sins of mankind, ancient societies performed it through rituals of sacrifice. Here, a victim was chosen to carry within him the desire for violence implicit in these societies and through his death, symbolic or real, helped in maintaining the social structures. In words of Rene Girard: "Society is seeking to deflect upon a relatively indifferent victim, a 'sacrificiable' victim, the violence that would otherwise be vented on its own members, the people it most desires to protect" (Girard 1977, 4). The surrogate in a sacrificial event acted as a substitution for the person/persons making sacrifices. When a person is substituted for another as a kind of proxy, the relationship between the sacrificer and the surrogate is marked by difference in status as well as similarity in kinship. The surrogate must invariably be of a lesser status, an outsider figure, a misfit in the clan of the sacrificer. He/she shouldn't belong to the core ethnic group of the sacrificer and must be suffering from some handicaps which disqualify him from sharing its privileges. These handicaps can be in the form of gender, class, ethnicity, infancy etc. The idiom of surrogate is that of a weak being killed for the strong, the inessential for the essential:

> The kernel of human substitution is the notion that the surrogate is of a less value, of lesser importance, and thus more dispensable than the person on behalf of whom the sacrifice is enacted. [...] The surrogate must be separate, in some sense, from the mainstream of the community engaged in the sacrifice–criminals, strangers, foreigners, slaves or other marginal individuals occupying the fringes of society–but not too far removed, otherwise the substitution is based on insufficient equality (Green 2001, 29-30).

The choice of sacrificial surrogate lies in a complex social-cultural matrix where the relationship of the sacrificing society and the victim are constantly re-defined and the boundaries redrawn. As we have seen above, the surrogate must necessarily be of an alien character, but only when he is adopted as a member of the clan, that the sacrifice becomes meaningful and beneficial for the society. Since the sacrifice proceeds by identification, there should be enough bonds to constitute the substitution. For instance, the alien surrogate must be assimilated within the society, through marriage or through rituals, so as to ward off too much separation by the conflicting elements. Further, as sacrifice involves a murder, the edges of criminality involved in taking a life should be mellowed down by some willingness on the part of the surrogate. In the *Bible*, for example, Abraham accomplishes it

through an appeal to the duty of a child and his unflinching loyalty in God before Isaac. Thus the three elements of any sacrificial event "that the victim offered himself, that he was of low status, and that he was feted prior to his expulsion or death" (Green 2001, 145) constitute fundamental reference points for it. The honour of the sacrificial victim before or after his death reduces the responsibility of the community as well as increases his value as a loved present to God.

Within this European negotiations on the meaning of the sacrifice–the sacrifice as a site of violence and destruction, the sacrificed as a victim and the sacrifice as a transformation of the profane into the sacred–was further qualified with time as a conflict between the selflessness and the selfishness. With the shift of European civilizations into capitalistic mode of market economy, the idea of sacrifice within them was slowly transmuted into an impulse towards altruism. It led to the concerns that modern cultures in their celebration of the self may be simplistically converting the idea of sacrifice into a palpable social goal while rejecting the polyvalence of sacrifice in ancient societies. The sacrifice, in this modern sense, mediates "the tension between the 'selfish' individual and its role as part of the social whole" (Meszaros 2013, 2) and debates on the meaning of sacrifice have become part of a larger narrative on individualism and collectivism, losing much of its ritualistic and symbolic richness in the process.

To this concept of the sacrifice within Western cultures, which originated from Greco-Roman myths, stories in the *Old Testament* and academic treatises on Asian and African primitive tribes, Indian conceptualisations on the concept add some interesting convergences and departures. Within Indian ritual and socio-historical contexts, sacrifice is situated more firmly within an ethical framework and has acquired a peculiar character due to a mix of historical and social factors. For one, while Greco-Roman sacrificial traditions concentrate more fully on propitiation of Gods for secular returns such as a favourable wind, victory in the war etc. and showcase their gratitude on the accomplishment of the task, within Vedic traditions sacrifice is more of an constitutive event, an imitative rite to the deity for reestablishment of the bond between the man and the God. Even when the sacrifice is undertaken for some palpable goal within Vedic rituals, the emphasis is more on the moral aspects of the event and a merging into the cosmic rather than its physical returns. Secondly, while the concept of sacrifice in Western biblical contexts is more of an individualistic event, in Indian post-Vedic context it is more of a social enterprise. Herein, the self-sacrificer sees himself as part of a social process in which his role is to maintain social harmony, uphold existing structures or to act for some higher purpose. He must "see himself as an 'elect' or in a special position of holiness, initiation or lineage. The heroic sacrifice is thus not acting with individual violence, but acting for entire community as a sacred performer of an approved and shared ritual" (Storm 2013, 30). Thirdly, the concept of self-sacrifice within Indian culture is a part of creed of heroism which allows the hero to move beyond the pale of egoistic self-preservation and partake in the larger life

of the community, as noted by Mary Storm: "To act with altruism and total disregard for personal safety was a hallmark of heroic behaviour" (Storm 2013, 206). As the etymology of the Sanskrit equivalents of the word sacrifice viz. *yajna* and *balidana*, reveals, connotations of the sacrifice in Indian context are governed by different conceptual frameworks. While *yajna,* as a concept, is situated in Vedic liturgical rituals in which macrocosmic events related to the creation of universe are imitated through microcosmic rites, revealing a concept as well as its execution in the form of an offering; *balidana*, as a combination of *bali*–sacrifice–and *dan*–to give, represents a voluntary sacrificial gift and is a more of a secular concept. With a juxtaposition of *bali* and *dan*, the sacrifice in Indian culture acquires ramification of a concept combining both ritualised offering as well as a socially situated concept of donation in Indian religious and ethical landscape. It essentially rebels against the instinct of selfhood and accepts reciprocal connections between the divine and the human spheres. The paradigms of heroism which are part of both *bali* and *dan* necessitate acceding to a belief system which envelops possibilities of life beyond death. It is an ultimate surrender of the self to the conceptual categories of otherness and delineates a shift from the profane to the sacred. Fourthly, while sacrifice in Indian context was seen as a moral obligation on the part of communities indulging in commerce and accumulation of wealth, an exclusive community, i.e. Brahmins, became the sole recipient of the material goods.

As discussed above, the concept of sacrifice becomes problematic when seen in juxtaposition with the concept of gift-making. The giving of gifts, as one of the most important pathways to achieve salvation, has an obsessive intensity within the Brahmanical canon. In *Rig Veda, dan* is seen as part of social obligation and a give and take arrangement wherein the donor receives it manifold through winning of a friend or a helping hand in his need.[1] In *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad, dan* is one of the three cardinal virtues of life along with *daya* (compassion) and *daman* (self-restraint). The shift in significations of *dan* from secular rewards in life to spiritual benefits hereafter became more apparent with the proliferation of *Brahmans* and

[1] *Rig Veda* Book 10 Hymn 117 refers to *dan* as a secular investment in life and does not see it as a spiritual benefit:
"The Gods have not ordained hunger to be our death: even to the well-fed man comes death in varied shape,
The riches of the liberal never waste away, while he who will not give finds none to comfort him,
The man with food in store who, when the needy comes in miserable case begging for bread to eat,
Hardens his heart against him, when of old finds not one to comfort him.
Bounteous is he who gives unto the beggar who comes to him in want of food, and the feeble,
Success attends him in the shout of battle. He makes a friend of him in future troubles,
No friend is he who to his friend and comrade who comes imploring food, will offer nothing.
Let the rich satisfy the poor implorer, and bend his eye upon a longer pathway,
Riches come now to one, now to another, and like the wheels of cars are ever rolling,
The foolish man wins food with fruitless labour: that food – I speak the truth – shall be his ruin,
He feeds no trusty friend, no man to love him. All guilt is he who eats with no partaker" (Rigveda, X.117).

Puranas in which the bestower of gifts was frequently promised heaven after death. Since *dan* was considered beneficial only when it flowed from the superior to the deserving lower position in which the giver controlled the secular riches and the receiver the spiritual ones, the sacrifice became part of class, caste and racial hierarchy. Under the emergent caste system, *dan* became an exchange of the material with the non-material, the physical with the spiritual and this mutual exchange, though open in practice to all castes, often limited itself to the flow of riches from the *Kshtriya* or rich *Veshyas* to the Brahmins. Within the cauldron of intermingling of diverse races, classes and castes in Indian landscape, a promise to attain a higher status through *dan* gave an impetus to mobility towards social respectability and attainment of spiritual benefits.

B. (severed head)

Before entering into the myth of Barbarika, it is imperative to see implications of choosing head as a prime object of sacrifice. The selection of head as an emblem of ultimate sacrifice is based on idea of head as a thinking cerebral organ which, due to its positional superiority, has become an image of representative self in human beings. This central motif with head as a symbol of human intellectual and moral perfection emerges in the myth of eternal *Purusha* from whom the Brahmins, representing intellectual and moral perfection in Hindu society, emerged.[2] The existence of numerous deities in Hinduism with multiple heads signifies the proliferation of cerebral potential and their extension beyond the singularity of human persona.

The head's connection with sexuality has been an interesting topic of speculations within western discourse, often exemplified in the myth of Medusa whose stony gaze symbolizes the fear of castration in males. In the words of Mary Storm: "Decapitation apologia is most influential as vehicles for the exploration of threatening psychological issues, especially those of sexual nature" (Storm 2013, 166). Julia Kristeva, in Severed Heads: Capital Visions reveals the process of severing of heads as operating on the level of amnesia towards maternal body and the acceptance of male symbolic code. In Iris Murdoch's novel *A Severed Head,* the decapitated head connotes incomplete relationship between the instinct and the mind:

> 'Yes, some people are more their body than others,' said Alexander, as he played the beam over his head, unshadowing a cheek. 'All the same, heads are

[2] The following hymn of *Rig Veda* relates the creation of different *varnas* from the body of eternal being:
"When Gods prepared the sacrifice with Purusha as their offering [...]
When they divided purusha, how many portions did they make?
What do they call his mouth, his arms? What do they call his thighs and feet?
The Brahman was his mouth, of both his arms was the Rajanya made
His thighs became the Vaisya, from his feet the Sudra was produced" (Rigveda, X. 90, 518-519).

> us most of all, the apex of our incarnation. The best thing about being God would be making the heads.'
>
> 'I don't think I like a sculpted head alone,' I said. 'It seems to represent an unfair advantage, an illicit and incomplete relationship.'
>
> 'An illicit and incomplete relationship,' said Alexander. 'Yes. Perhaps an obsession. Freud on Medusa. The head can represent the female genitals, feared not desired' (Murdoch 2001, 42).

In Puranic myths, Brahma's fifth head was cut off for the sin of incest by Rudra.[3] The decapitation as control of sexuality, as revealed in the cutting of Brahma's head, can further be read in Indian folklores of Aravan in South India. Aravan, who expresses a desire to marry a woman before his sacrifice in the battlefield of Mahabharata, gets his wish fulfilled by Krsna who marries him as Mohini prior to his sacrifice on the very next day.

An interpretation of head as a receptacle of soul in the sacrifices of head symbolizes a pact of ultimate value which leaves the donor nothing with himself. It is irreversible in the sense that once it is given, it cannot be taken back. If at all it is replaced, it will have to be exchanged with another object of the similar value. In the myth of Ganesha in *Shiv Purana*, when enraged Shiva cuts off head of Parvati's son, his head is replaced only by another head, though that of an elephant. In this story, head and body are not antagonistic post-resuscitation, but maintain a relationship of mutuality. While the resurrected child remains Ganesha, his transposed head becomes symbol of wisdom, peace and artistic sensibilities. The severed head in this episode loses its value once it is removed from the body. When the symbiosis is ruptured, the head becomes dead here, to be replaced with another more worthy successor. While the original head of Ganesha was adamant, proud and represented Hindu version of Oedipus complex in his refusal to recognize authority of his father's sexual rights over his mother, the replaced head is more mellow and mature, accepting his status as a son of both Shiva and Parvati. Ganesha's status as a protector of arts and wisdom in his elephantine head represents this maturing process through overcoming of the singularities of an insistent head and its progression towards acceptance of the binaries of creation.

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[3] The following hymn occurring in *Aitareya Brahmana* 13.9-10 delineates the sin of incest committed by Brahma in lusting after his daughter, an act which was seen as violation of dharma and as a punishment the offending head was cut off by Rudra: "Prajapati desired his daughter. She took the form of a doe and he the form of a stag. The gods said,'Prajapati is doing something that is not to be done.' They assembled various dreadful forms and made a god to punish Parjapati. He pierced him and Prajapati fled upward, becoming the constellation of the deer while the doe became the constellation Rohini" (Hopkins, 463). Another tale regarding cutting off the head of Brahma is given in *Siva Purana* in which Siva crates Bhairava to punish Brahma for his pride: "Kala-Bhairava in a trice, cut off Brahma's head with the tip of the nails of the fingers of his left hand. The limb that commits offence shall be chastised. Hence the fifth head that censured was cut off" (Shastri, 2014 Vol. III, viii. 52-53. P.1102).

The beheading of Ganesha completes the castration process of the son and a post-Oedipus maturation is set up. In a folk transcription of a classical myth, Parsurama, while beheading his mother Renuka on the orders of his father Jamdagni, cuts off heads of both his mother and an untouchable woman. When his father allows him to reconnect the heads, Parsurama transposes heads of women, thus giving birth to two goddesses–Yellamma and Mariyammai. Another example of transposition of heads in Indian myths occurs when Daksha's head is replaced with that of a goat. The story refers to an ongoing power struggle between the father and the son-in-law for the possession of the daughter. The switching of the heads leads to the mellowing of Daksha towards a greater understanding of both the cosmic and familial matters. His head, which was a seat of ego and myopic vision before decapitation, after its replacement by a goat head, acquires new awareness and humility.

Somdatta's 11th century *Kathasaritsagara,* in one of its stories, treats the decapitation and transposition of heads more elaborately. The same story appears in Ksemendra's *Brhatkathamanjari* and Sivadasa's *Vetalapancavimsati* and has been moulded by Thomas Mann and Girish Karnad in their own versions. In the story related by Somdatta, the heads of the husband and the brother are exchanged by the wife when her husband and her brother sacrifice their heads to Durga as a token of ultimate sacrifice. The sacrifice of the head and its transposition in the story position head as a fundamental identity marker, as discussed by Mary Storm: "When a devotee offers his head to the deity, he offers his identity. By performing self-decapitation, the victim is subsumed into the matrix of divinity and loses individuality" (Storm 2013, 162). The puzzle regarding the confused identities of resurrected husband and brother of the heroine is solved by king Trivikramasena through the idea that "that one of the two, on whom her husband's head was fixed, was her husband, for the head is the chief of the limbs, and personal identity depends upon it" (Tawney 1968, 264). The story plays on the psychological implications of confusing brothers and husbands and can be read as an externalization of incest, with head as a boundary line connecting this separation. Thomas Mann's *The Transposed Heads* dwells on the theme of Severed Heads to bring out contradictions in placing too much premium on the head as the chief architecture of 'I- and my-feelings.' By exchanging Shridaman, the husband with Nanda, the lover of beautiful Sita, the novella questions reliability of taking heads as our identity markers and consequent neglect of the body as a depository of our passions and senses. The figure of Kali "framed in an arch composed of skulls" (Mann 1941, 44), carrying hot human blood in scalps creates a desire in Shridaman to sacrifice himself to the primeval being representing eternal womb:

> Beginningless, that wast before all created! Mother without man, whose garments none lifth! All-embracing horror and desire, sucking back into thyself he worlds and images thou givest forth! With offerings of living creatures the people honour thee, for to thee is due the life-blood of all! Hoe

shall I not find grace to my healing, if I bring thee myself as offering? (Mann 1941, 45).

The impulse for sacrifice here is initiated by a wish to offer one's ultimate possession and thus gain the sanctuary of the Goddess. The irony is that this sacrifice, which is itself tainted by a desire for the woman whom Shridaman loves but finds unable to satisfy, is not accepted by the Goddess. The judgement of the ascetic, though hedged with doubts, sees head as a primal organ, akin to the position of a king:

Husband is, who wears the husband's head
Here lies no doubt at all, must it be said,
As Woman is the highest bliss and bourne of songs
So among limbs to head the highest rank belongs (Mann 1941, 87).

A brief synopsis of the treatment of severed heads as found in Indian culture leads to some broad inferences regarding a co-relation between the severing of heads as denial of identity and their connection with symbolic castration. The sacrifice of heads in these instances becomes an objective correlative for an ultimate gift which, in its terrifying execution, becomes a potent symbol of human vulnerability as well as his strength.

II.

The myth of Barbarika covers a large geographical space from Nepal to Tamil Nadu and has many variants in different parts of India. In Rajasthan, Haryana, Andhra Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh the central figure of the myth is known as Khatu Shyam/Barbarika, in Mandi district of Himachal Pradesh and Nepal he is venerated as Kamrunaag, in Garwal his nomenclature is Barbil, in Gujarat he is called Baliyadev, in Tamil Nadu and Southern Andhra Pradesh there is a parallel story of Aravan and Kuttantavar. While in most of the regions the hero is a son of Ghatotkca, in Bundelkhand and Garhwal, he is presented as a son of Bhima and a serpent maiden. Though there are some regional variations, the central story delineates the sacrifice of head before the onset of the war of Mahabharata. In classical sources, this story is found in *Skanda Purana* in which the marriage of Ghatotkca with the daughter of demon Muru, Kamakatankata, who ruled at Pragjyotisapura in Assam, is related. After defeating her in a fierce battle, Ghatotkca marries her and a son Barbarika was born to them. He was named Barbarika because his hair was like *barbara*, which in Sanskrit denotes curly, signalling his *Rakshasa* origin. When Ghatotkca takes his son to Krsna, he advises Barbarika to acquire "power of unparalleled nature" (Shastri 1993, 527) so as to punish the evil doers, protect the good and attain heaven. This power is to be gotten through the favour of goddess Camunda, also known as Siddhayika, by propitiating her at Guptaksetra at Mahi-Sagara-Sangam. In the course of his worship, Barbarika helps a Brahman called Vijaya in his attainment

of *siddhis*. Barbarika defeats numerous demons and demonesses such as Mahajihva, Repalendra, and Duhadruha etc. while protecting the mystic rites undertaken by Vijaya. In return, Vijaya gives him a pinch of sacred ash from the sacrificial fire which had a power to remove all pains, heal wounds and if he "discharges it at the outset, it will cause the death of your enemies" (Shastri 1993, 544). When Barbarika hesitates to accept the ash, he is told about the impending war between Kauravas and Pandavas and that "if the Kauravas were to obtain this ash kept on the ground, it will be exceedingly risky and dangerous to the Pandavas" (Shastri 1993, 544).

An encounter between Barbarika and Bhima takes place when Pandavas, during their exile, reach Guptaksetra. At the shrine of Candika, Bhima, ignoring the advice of Yudhisthra enters into the sacred pond and starts washing in the water. Barbarika, unknown to the fact that he was meeting his grandsire Bhima, warns him to desist polluting the water as he used the same for oblation to the Goddess. In subsequent fight between the two, Bhima is defeated and Barbarika lifts up Bhima to throw him into the sea. Lord Rudra intervenes along with the Goddess and the true identity of his opponent is revealed to him. Barbarika is aghast at his crime and wishes to commit suicide by throwing himself in the sea: "I am a sinner, O Grandfather. I am more accursed than a Brahmana slayer. I am despicable. [...] Hence I shall myself cast off my body in Mahi-Sagara-Sangam, the body by which my grandfather has been afflicted" (Shastri 1993, 549). The sea refuses to accept his suicide and the goddess reveals to him that that his death at this moment will distress his grandfather who will also commit suicide out of guilt. Hence the way out is: "If you are desirous of abandoning your body, there too listen to these words. It has been destined that your death will take place in a short while at the hands of Krsna, the son of Devaki. Wait for it, if you wish, since death at the hands of Visnu is far more excellent" (Shastri 1993, 549-550).

In this version of the myth, the death of Barbarika takes place in the assembly of Pandavas before the war of Mahabharata. In the assembly, when Yudhisthra raises a question regarding who is the mightiest hero in their camp, Arjuna claims that he could kill all Kauravas in a single day. At this challenge, Barbarika stands up and claims that he could kill all Kauravas within a *muhurta*. When asked to substantiate his claim, Barbarika uses his arrow filled with sacred ash which falls on the vulnerable spots of all the heroes in both the armies such as skin of Bhisma, neck of Drona, sole of Krsna, thigh of Duryodhana, abdomen of Sikhandi etc. leaving only five Pandavas, Krpa and Asvatthama unsullied. After locating their weak spots, Barbarika proposes to use his arrows at these precise points, thus killing them instantly. Suddenly, without any provocation, Krsna "cut off his head even as he was saying thus by means of his sharp discuss. It fell down" (Shastri 1993, 566). On being enquired by surprised and sorrowful Pandavas, it was revealed to them by Krsna that Barbarika was a *yaksa* leader named Suryavarcas in his previous birth. He dared to interpose in the conversation between Brahma and

Visnu regarding the need for Visnu to take *avatara* on earth to relive it of its burden of sinners. When Suryavarcas claimed that he could do it himself and there was no need for Visnu to take birth on the earth, Brahma cursed him for his excessive pride and ordained that he would be killed by Krsna in his next birth. To his request that he be granted "an intellect that accomplishes all tasks, ever since my birth" (Shastri 1993, 567), he is given a boon that his head will be worshipped by people. When Barbarika expressed his wish to see the battle of Kurukshetra, with the blessings of Krsna, "the head of Barbarika went up to the peak of the mountain" (Shastri 1993, 568). After the war of Mahabharata, the head of Barbarika reveals before the vain Bhima that the only person who killed the enemies in the battle was a divine being comprising aspects of both Visnu and Shiva i.e. Krsna. To further support the claims of divinity for Krsna, Bhima is taken to a fathomless lake which was really the severed head of Kumbhkarna, the demon brother of Ravna. While Bhima is unable to reach the bottom of the lake, Krsna easily lifts it up in his hand, thus further humbling the pride of Bhima.

Temple of Khatu Shyam/Barbarika (Khatushyamji, District Sikar, Rajasthan)

The folktale surrounding Khatu Shyam in north India follows the same thread of narrative as revealed in the *Skand Purana* up to the disastrous clash between Barbarika and Bhima but then it moves in another direction. Here, instead of the sacred ash, Barbarika possesses three infallible arrows by the grace of Goddess. The first arrow had the capacity to search and mark his target while the second one

could kill all his enemies, leaving one spare arrow with Barbarika. According to the tale told in the region of Alwar in Rajasthan, when the war of Mahabharata was declared, Barbarika prepared for the war after promising his mother that he would fight on the weaker side. Krsna comes to know about the mighty hero and prepares to meet him in the disguise of a Brahman. After coming to know about the intention of Barbarika to fight on the weaker side, Krsna asks Barbarika to give a test of his skill by penetrating all the leaves of the tree under which they were standing. Barbarika's arrow, after piercing all the leaves of the tree, starts revolving on the feet of Krsna so as to penetrate one leave which Krsna had hidden under the sole of his feet. After this test, Krsna asks him to fulfil his *kshtriya dharma* by donating him whatever he asks of him. When promised to do so, Krsna asks him to give him his head which the young hero willingly does, but not before asking Krsna to let him see the battle of Mahabharata. After the sacrifice of the head, Krsna puts it on a nearby mountaintop and gives him a boon that in the age of *Kaliyug* he would be worshipped by his name i.e. Khatu Shyam. Rest of the tale follows the lead of *Skand Purana*.

In the tale told in the Mandi district of Himachal Pradesh where Barbarika is identified with Kamrunag[4] he is a *yaksha* called Ratan, who wishes to change the fate of the battle. Put to a text of piercing all the leaves of the tree, he successfully does so along with a few leaves Krsna has hidden in his hand. When asked for his head in gift by Krsna, Kamrunag expresses his desire to see the battle from a lofty hill tree. In Garhwali version of the myth, when Barbil proclaims his decision to fight for the loser, Krsna in order to test his skill takes five leaves from the tree in the name of Pandavas and hides them under his foot. The arrow after piercing every leaf on the tree, starts moving over the foot of Krsna, thus making its intention clear that even Pandavas would not be spared by the apocalypse let loose by Barbil. The myth of Barbarika and his sacrifice of head has interlinks with similar incidents in Aravan's sacrifice in Mahabharata in the cult of Drapaudi in Tamil Nadu where he is known as Kuttantavar. The Tamil version of Aravan/Kuttantavar, related by ninth century Pallava poet Peruntevanar, describes how Aravan agreed to be sacrificed on the new moonlight day so that the Pandavas could win the war. He gets three boons in return–that he will be allowed a warrior's death on the eighth day of the war, that his severed head would be allowed to see the war and that he would have a pre-war marriage.

All these versions, though different from each other in some important motifs, are interconnected through a central drive on sacrifice and heroism in the society of the epic age. In all of them the severed head is a governing symbol and is venerated as metonymic representative of the deity. Further, the folk narratives

[4] The temple of Kamrunag is situated in Kamrah village in Mandi district of Himachal Pradesh where Kamrunag is also worshipped as God of rain.

extend the tale through additions, realignments and reassessments of the central story-line and thus create a richness of symbols and images.

III.

An analysis of the myth of Barbarika as proposed by me would follow the story line of the Rajasthani version of the myth, along with necessary qualifications and reassessments as borrowed from other versions of the tale. An interpretation of the myth of Barbarika can be undertaken on the broad interdisciplinary levels of historical, social/political, religious, symbolic and psychological ones. It should be stressed here, however, that these approaches are basically inter-related and any division between them is untenable as they frequently inter-relate and qualify each other.

Historically, the myth of Barbarika is situated in the conflict and assimilation of different races in post-Vedic, epic era India. The myth gives us a precious glimpse in the racial conflicts and emergent social formations through deification of indigenous, non-Aryan heroes and their conflict with the hegemonic Aryan civilization which was making inroads within the autochthonic people of India. In most of the myths surrounding *Rakshasas* in Puranas and epics, these aboriginal peoples of India have been portrayed as wild and barbaric, living in forests and having different physical features vis-a-vis the Aryans. The conflict between the Aryans and the *Rakshasas,* which forms one of the basic structures of *Ramayana*, continues into *Mahabharata* too, though with a muted air. It may be due to the fact that the more stringent forms of racial purity which interposed the Aryans and the *Rakshasas* as inalienable foes in the *Ramayana* were still in their infancy in the days of the *Mahabharata* and the two races frequently intermingled, though not without a sense of censure against such hybridisations. Although the *Rakshasas* in the *Mahabharata* are seen as aliens and dangerous, there is an attempt to assimilate them strategically in the racial stock of Aryans.

If the *Rakshasas* were rejected due to their alien culture and portrayed as enemies of the Aryan way of life, there is ambivalence towards the progenies produced as a result of union between the *Rakshasa* females and the Aryan males. These descendants of mixed races made their presence felt on the folk narrative space of India, carrying within them complex ritualistic, symbolic, social and cultural tensions due to their positionality as outsider-insider figures. On the level of social structures, which in Hindu thought is a paradigm for intellectual and spiritual, they were part of a synthesis which the Post-Vedic Indian society found itself faced with. They both fascinated and repelled the entrenched classes with their potential to disrupt and challenge the social cohesion. Further, these progenies could not be ignored because of their use as potential allies in the war between different factions of an enlarging Aryan society. The adoption of these aliens challenged and raised uncomfortable questions regarding validity, foundation and

sustenance of Aryan *varna* based division of society. All these motifs play heavily through indigenous bodies of these *varna-sankaras* such as Barbarika.

To understand the rejection of miscegenation in Aryan thought, it is necessary to understand reasons behind the strong note of disapproval Aryans felt towards native citizens of this country. The rejection of the *Rakshasas* as a "race of cannibalistic ogres" (Gitomer 297) within the traditional Brahmanical literature is often associated with their assumed impurity, based on their supposed contact with dirty and polluted substances. For instance, it has been alleged that "demons come into contact with substances that are considered exceedingly impure, according to Brahmanical tradition: violence, blood, unrestrained sexuality, meat-eating and pollution of sacrifices. Because *Rakshasas* indulge in unbound gratification of desires in ways that bring them into frequent contact with such substances, they transgress the proper order of society, as envisioned in *dharmic* prescriptions" (Richman 2009, 178). The full implications of the disgust felt by Aryan Brahmanism towards the *Rakshasas* can be understood through the concepts of dirt and pollution as explicated by Mary Douglas. Dirt, as explained by her, is a kind of disorder and the fear of pollution betrays an encroachment on the structures of discipline and boundaries. Hence the Brahmanical rejection of the *Rakshasas* was not primarily due to their contact with inherently dirty or polluted substances as much as it was due to their transgression of the Brahmanical way of life, thus posing a danger to the hierarchical and closed network of relationships within that group.

Further, a relation between the *Rakshasas* and the evil in Indian ethical paradigm can be located on two major levels – that of "(1) the defilement of caste and ritual purity and (2) the delusoriness that prevents humans from perceiving dharma" (Sutherland 1991, 2). Out of these two aspects, the earlier one is seen as "more absolute, since the notion of what is *dharmic* is relative and delusion or *maya* has both positive and negative aspects" (Southerland 1991, 2). In the words of Pollock, the outsider poses three kinds of dangers to tightly structured groups and thus the 'othering' of the alien takes place through a rejection of these possibilities: "Outsiders are made other by being represented as deviant–sexually, dietetically, politically, deviant" (Richman 2009, 178). Concomitantly, the fear of hybridism which converts human beings into degraded symbols and animalistic imagery springs from a psychological fixation with the objection of desire. The resultant guilt and fear creates a strong loathing for the forbidden subjects and hence the *Rakshasas* become "projections of desire and fear–the desire to transgress cultural norms and fear of doing so" (Richman 2009, 178).

The binary opposition between the Aryan-Brahmanism and the *Rakshasa* culture created a paradigm where the Brahmanism enclosed itself within a network of values and any transgression from them was viewed with suspicion. Bhima's marriage with Hidimba, the sister of Hidimb, who is ready to betray her own brother, takes place after the elimination of Hidimb by Bhima. This marriage earns approval from Kunti and Yudhisthra who allow her to be with Bhima for a short

while. Bhima is instructed to return to the fold of his clansman after he begets a son from Hidimba. Since within patriarchal set up, a son could be claimed only by the father as a part of his heritage, the presence of Ghatotkca in the epic becomes acceptable due to his sharing of the lineage of Aryan clan, though his maternal *Rakshasa* lineage makes him an outcaste in a society which puts premium on the purity of blood. The happiness of Krsna at the death of Ghatotkca and his assertion that if Karna would not have killed him, he would have to kill him himself as he posed a danger to Brahmanical system, foreshadows his treatment of Ghatotkca's son Barbarika.[5] It is also important to note the casual way in which Vyasa dismisses the death of Ghatotkca before Yudhisthra, calling it an instrument to save Arjuna and referring to him as only a *Rakshasa*, thus eliding his individual identity.[6] This elision of the personal identity of Ghatotkca into a collective identity marker of race signifies a desire in the epic poet to collectivise and point out the racial otherness of all *Rakshasas,* thus denying him the privilege of an Aryan lineage. When seen in the context of the death of Abhimanyu, the legitimate Aryan son of Arjuna, the contrast is telling and strongly reveals the contemptuous attitude in Aryan Brahmanism towards the descendants of mixed races.[7] Barbarika, who is a further cross-breed between the Aryans and the indigenous *Rakshasa* lineage through Ghatotkca's marriage with Kamakatankata, represents a more potent threat to the Brahmanism, not a physical and overt one, but as a horror of miscegenation, a blasphemy and a visible symbol of *Rakshasa* way of life. Like the marriage between Hidimba and Bhima which was "a crucial military alliance for the Pandavas" (Richman 2009, 183) and provided a valuable scapegoat for saving Arjuna's life; the marriage between Barbarika and Kamakatankata, as suggested by Krsna, can be seen as part of Krsna's plans to have strong allies for Pandavas and Kamakatankata, as a virtual ruler of Assam provided one such opportunity. The hybridism of Barbarika's lineage makes him an uneasy figure and the myth

[5] "Through our tactics Karna used that Sakti of his in felling the son of Hidimva. If on the other hand, Karna had not slain this Rakshasa by his Sakti, then it would have been my (painful) duty to slay Bhimasena's son, Ghatotkca. It was only for pleasing you that I did not slay him before. This Rakshasa was a contumner of the Brahmanas and a destroyer of sacrifices; this wicked souled one was inimical to the performances of sacrifices and therefore has he been slain" (Dutt, 321, Mahabharata. Vol. IV. CLXXXII.25-27).

[6] "O bestower of honour, it is indeed fortunate that the Rakshasa has been slain (with that Sakti) in battle. Death himself has slain the Rakshasa and the fatal Sakti of Vasava was only the instrument. O sire, it is for your good that he has been slain in battle" (Dutt, 326, Mahabharata. Vol. IV. CLXXXIV.61-62).

[7] The long passages devoted to speeches of Krsna Dwaipayana and framing stories before Yudhistra are in marked contrast with the perfunctory way in which Yudhistra's grief at death of Ghatotkca is dismissed. There is no reaction from Bhima on the death of Ghatotkca while that of Abhimanyu's death is bemoaned heavily: "And saying, O my son! And sighing like a furnace, fell down on the earth in great distress. Then everyone present, with melancholy countenance sat surrounding Dhananjaya. And highly distressed they began to gaze vacantly at one another with winkless eyes" (Dutt, 106, *Mahabharata.* Vol. IV. LXXIV.17-18).

represents, on the social level, the fears and attractions along with vigorous attempts to ward off these challenges to Aryan culture through recourse to contest the dangers of hybridism. Thus the concept of 'demonic other', as revealed in the present myth, can be seen as a governing paradigm in the alienation of Barbarika.

The birth of Barbarika, hence, is situated within an uneasy political and social paradigm of relationship between the Aryan Pandavas who were banished out of their capital and were in dire need of allies and the *Rakshasa* who were seen as enemies of the Aryans and with time were being slowly Aryanised through inter-marriages and claims of lineages by Aryan sages. Elaborating on the inscription of Aryan lineage within the *Rakshasa* who belonged to a matriarchal culture, Mishra rightly posits: "As all these demonic beings are genealogically matriarchal, the *rsis* could have obtained the position of progenitor simply by initiating them or through the process of cross-marriage" (Mishra 1987, 242). The hypothesis does not seem surprising keeping in view the syncretic nature of Hinduism. There have been constant cross-over of different races on the historical temporal map of India, resulting into absorption of autochthonic people within the ranks of newly arrived races. The anthropologists have discovered at least three such layers which followed one another, beginning with the *Raskshasas*: "These *Rakshasas*, who along with *Yakshas* once occupied the whole expense of this subcontinent from the Himalayas to Ceylon (Lanka) probably form the first layer of ethnological history of India, prior to a second *Asura-Naga* (Dravidian?) layer, which was evidently succeeded and absorbed by a third historical layer of *Arya-Manava* race" (Mishra 1987, 242). Though there has been a constant formation of hybrids within Indian cultural-space, the newcomers didn't spontaneously accepted indigenous groups within their ranks. At the same time there was a fierce resistance on the part of indigenous races who resisted colonisation of their culture and land by the Aryan Brahmanism. This resistance has been dramatised through the depiction of epic struggles between *Devas/Manvas* and *Rakshasas/Danavas/Daityas* within the corpus of Hindu religious literature. Southerland concurs here that "as representatives of the unknown, the tribal, the foreign, the uninhabited *Yaksas*, *Raksasas*, and *Nagas* resist the rationalising and civilizing influences of brahmans and Buddhists" (Southerland 1991, 159). This note of rejection is particularly strong in the case of *Rakshasas* as they represented the greatest challenge to Brahmanism in their direct conflict with Aryan sacrifices, their close presence within the strongholds of Aryans and their value system which counteracted against the structured, caste-governed society sanctioned by Brahmanism: "While demons (asuras) in general may represent the structural and functional opposite of gods (devas), *Rakshasas* in particular are the opposite of brahmanas" (Gitomer 2007, 305). The myth of Barbarika startlingly reveals this constant resistance and suspicion towards new groups within the folds of Aryanism and the halting process of assimilation. The same norms of rejection, as operated in the instance of Barbarika are visible in the case of Kuttantavar/ Aravan/ Iravat who was a mixed-race son of Ulupi and Arjuna and is worshipped primarily in Tamilnadu as deity of

transgenders. The image of Aravan, as presented in visual representations, is a conglomeration of two distinct races–while his thirty two beauty marks symbolise his connection with Aryans like Krsna and Arjuna, his large canine teeth and hairlines associate him with his *Rakshasa* lineage.

Along with this racial conflict dramatised through Aryan/*Rakshasa* dualism and the rejection of hybridism in the persona of Barbarika, the self-sacrifice myth of Barbarika also reveals an important motif of power within the hierarchal set up of society in which the sacrificer becomes a victim of the dominant ideology. This implication of power struggle between different classes becomes visible in the selection of the victim. The decapitation, seen in this context, becomes an event through which boundary lines between the powerful and the sanctioned against the outsider and the weak are re-drawn and re-emphasised. Since in a sacrificial event two interrelated strands of the 'offering' and the 'separation' constitute and define it, the offering can become coercive through religious ideology as a part of social bargain. For instance, Barbarika's sacrifices is purported to invoke the well being of Pandavas while at the same time working as a vehicle to maintain the status quo of the structures of Aryan society. It is deemed necessary to sacrifice him to ensure the victory of Pandavas and through this sacrifice a sanctification of his *Rakshasa* lineage is ensured. The ascendency of the sacrificed sacral from the proximity of human beings through hiding or placing it at an inaccessible place ensures the sanctity of the divinity of the object as well as its removal from the polluting presence of common humanity. Once the sacrificed object is removed from the pale of profane and is placed at a "sanctified place" it creates a bond between the earth and the heaven, representing a consequent symbolic shift from the irreverent to the consecrated. Its sanctuary becomes a "divine embassy, a terrestrial manifestation of the supernatural world" (Green 2001, 24). This ascendency of marked sacred, while giving it a sacredness, also reveals a movement from its earlier commonplace origins to a situation of higher, powerful ritual sanctity thus giving it a transcendence and power, while at the same time enclosing it more securely within the Brahmanical fold.

The sacrifice of body in the myth becomes an emblem of ultimate gift since the corporeal sacrifice nullifies possibilities of all subsequent gains in life and gives the donor an aura of palpable selflessness. The death of body resulting in consequent extermination of the ego makes it the highest and purest kind of donation. With it, the idea of head as a crux of human persona further enhances the gift of head under religious obligations an ultimate symbol of sacrifice. The willing decapitation of the hero becomes a cornerstone of the heroic capability of the sacrificer who rises above common humanity through his unexceptional act of charity. Hence the sacrifice of the head gives the hero a religions and communal identity which is made possible only through the loss of an earlier limited, individual identity. In cases where the head is retained as a marker of an earlier identity, its veneration as a religious symbol provided the severed head a universality through its consecration as a metaphor of ultimate charity, heroism and

selflessness. Through the sacrifice of his head, Barbarika loses his individuality as a progeny of the *Rakshasa* lineage and is subsumed within the religious structure of syncretic Brahmanism in which he largely forgoes connections with his aboriginal roots in his worship as a sanctified hero.

There are some obvious connections between the head as a sacrificial organ and the sexuality of the hero in the myth of Aravan, though this relationship is elided in the tale surrounding Barbarika. It is to be noted that both Barbarika and Aravan are celibate up to the point of crisis and Barbarika' connection with the Goddesses and her *Joginis* invokes similar connections. In the myth of Aravan, the unconsummated sexuality of the hero becomes problematic which can only be solved though his marriage with Mohini, the celestial damsel representing Visnu. Though the motif of sexuality of a hybrid descendant seems to be sidestepped here by presenting his marriage as an excuse to secure descendents, there is no mention of any progeny to the virginal Mohini after sexual consummation in the myth. The hair of Barbarika in Mahoba version of the tale where he is depicted as progeny of Bhima and a *Nagkanya* are compared with snakes. In the myth of Aravan, on the eighth day of the battle snakes form a cover for his body which are eventually devoured by Garuda. A connection between human hair and sexuality, as discussed by Alf Hiltebeitel,[8] posits the severed head in the myth as a castration to ward off the dangers of cross-breeding between the Aryans and the aboriginals. The loose hair of Barbarika not only symbolize uncontrolled sexuality but also a freedom from the orderliness and control, as suggested by Marglin: "Unbounded or disarticulated state of body such as flowing hair signify a state of impurity; correspondingly, bounded or articulated state of body such as bound hair, signify a state of purity" (Marglin 1985, 67). This interplay between the purity and the impurity, as revealed through loose and bound hair, is less to do with sanitary aspects than the prevalent ideas of opposition between the order and the disorderliness, the control and the freedom in inter-cultural space. As sexuality, and particularly those of the mixed breed heroes, is disorderliness within the structured universe of Aryan Brahmanism, its banishment through symbolic castration is ensured by the beheading of the hero. Additionally, the psychological interpretation of the motif of severed head in the myth brings out connotations of sexual castration and provides a co-relative to oedipal conflict, not only on the level of individuals but also on the social and racial level. The constant juxtaposition of the *asuric* head with its open hair and cannibalistic teeth represents a desire for demonizing and othering of the primeval through a hegemonic ideological gaze. The *barbara* hairs of the hero, on the other hand, are symbolic of freedom from the conceptual and moralistic narrow space of Brahmanical ethical framework. These very symbols which were created as a part of 'othering' and used for banishing them from the sanctioned religiosity in *Mahabharata*, slowly became part of folk religious experience, a process whose first glimpses are seen in *Skand Purana.* The

[8] See Heiltebeitel 1998.

enlarging of Hindu pantheon through assimilation by extension, revision and rearrangement of principal deities within Hinduism made possible reinterpretation of deities like Barbarika, providing them a grudging sanction and space to act out their heterogeneity, though within certain strictures and norms.

Since the continued virginity of these cross-breed folk heroes posed a permanent threat to the stability of Aryan purity of lineage, the cutting of head thus becomes a symbol of their permanent castration. There are numerous instances in the *Mahabharata*, in which a similar pattern of conflict between the Aryan fathers and their crossbreed sons is revealed. The play of oedipal complex, noticed by Hiltebeitel in the stories of precocious sons such as Babhruvahana, Barbarika etc. who bring awareness of the possibility of patricide in the *Mahabharata* is part of this conflict. The repeated pattern of "sons who endanger them and have the capacity to upstage and kill them" (Hiltebeitel 1999, 421) in the *Mahabharata* is a result of the fear of hybridism and exogamy in Aryan nobility. While there is no conflict between the Pandavas and their sons produced with Drapaudi, the conflict between Arjuna and Babhruvahana, Arjuna and Aravan and Bhima and Barbarika has been noticed and explored in diverse folk myths, as explained by Hiltebeitel: "On his mother's side, there is usually a lower, non-*Kshtriya* component: from a Nagi in the versions told so far; alternatively from a *Rakshasi*. Somehow his prowess become monstrous and endangers the course which Krsna has set for the Pandavas's victory. [...] that victory requires the Pandavas to offer a son of low-to-monstrous status not only to obtain victory, but to avoid offering themselves or Krsna" (Hiltebeitel 1999, 420). This conflict plays essentially on the level of the race, resulting into ambivalence towards exogamous sons. The position of these interracial sons remains liminal, who forever remain at the fringes of Indian social structure. The racial miscegenation and subsequent displacement follows the same pattern as that which governs hybridization of castes in Indian society: "In the case of mixings governed by the key principles–for example sexual unions between a man of superior caste and a woman of an inferior caste–the result is not the creation of a category in which the pure and the impure are found simultaneously, but the creation of a new class. This new class is pure in relation to inferior classes and impure in relation to superior classes" (Marglin 1985, 68). This situational liminality was an additional factor in the movement of these protagonists towards heroism through exceptional acts–the acts of incomparable charity in Karna or the extreme nature of self-sacrifice in Barbarika and others.

The psychological implications of the beheading become apparent when read in consonance with variations on oedipal conflict in the myth. The beheading of Barbarika is a deferred punishment for the sin of overthrowing his grandsire Bhima. As Oedipal conflict is not essentially a revolt against one's biological father but against a father-figure who represents the authority and control, the conflict between an exogamous son who wishes to attain recognition and power and an already established elder figure becomes inevitable. The defeat of Bhima

and his symbolic murder by Barbarika represents a clash between the aspirations of a lowly-placed, exogamous son against a powerful father figure who is more securely placed within the Aryan-Brahmanic lineage. But this symbolic murder eventually leads to the remorse and guilt, which can only be expiated through sacrifice. The sacrifice of the head of Barbarika thus can be seen as a penance for the sin of patricide. This clash is also visible in the episode of the *Yaksha*'s challenge to Vishnu wherein Suryavarcas refers to his own ability to destroy evil-doers in the place of Vishnu whom he advises not to take trouble of taking an *avatara* on earth. It is important to note here that the *Yakshas* were elders of the *Rakshasas* in their being off-springs of the same father, i.e. Pulastya. In the *Ramayana*, the connection between the *Yakshas* and the *Rakshasas* is represented through an etymological connection between the two terms: "In Brahma's creation of the waters and creatures to guard it, some cried *raksamah* and so they became the *rakshasa* and other cried out *yaksamah* and they became *yaksas*" (Misra 1981, 10). The *Yakshas* were considered "one of the most primitive races of India" (Mishra 243) and with the *Gandharvas* and the *Kinnars* they formed the elites of Himalayan region. The *Yakshas* thus formed "a middle class between 'Devas' and 'Asuras' who were both malevolent and benevolent to human society" (Mishra 1987, 243). Keeping in view this affinity between the *Yakshas* and the *Rakshasa*, and their ambivalent status vis-a-vis the *Devas*, it is not surprising that the intervention of the *Yaksha* is taken as an affront by Brahma in the form of a revolt against his role as a father-figure of the universe. This episode, through visualisation of a conflict between a low-born, mixed racial being against an established, pure-descent father figure, institutes a punishment against such transgressions in the form of beheading which is a castration as well as a removal of all identity markers, an annihilation of the self-hood. This removal of self-hood from the sacrificed person is also akin to relegating him to the status of a sacrificial animal, a connection which can be seen in the Tamil version of Aravan where "the low status victim hero is clearly assimilated to animal victims: especially maned ones that are supposed to shiver to signify their sacrificial consent, and ones that are hairy and tusked" (Alduri 2011, 248).

A conflict between the patriarchal and the matriarchal structures of social formations also forms one of the core issues in the myth. While Barbarika, like his father Ghatotkca, lives with his mother and venerates female Goddesses who are responsible for his invincible power, Krsna, as a male God, symbolises an ultimate capitulation to Aryan pantheon of trinity. Barbarika's decision to fight on the weaker side is prompted by his promise to his mother, as suggested in the folk version of the myth, and represents an acknowledgment of the matriarchal authority. The veneration of mothers in Indian society, which has been noted by sociologists like Sudhir Kakar, is a legacy of earlier matriarchal indigenous cultures whose counterpart in the Aryan culture was not father but a Brahman. The inscription of brahmanical lineage on the matriarchal households of the aboriginals

through a cultivation of assumed lineages of Brahmin sages as found in the *Puranas* is a palpable product of this conflict and subsequent assimilation.

A note of ambivalence in the loyalty of the sons who were begotten outside Aryan lineage is part of the uneasiness felt by inter-racial groups towards the imminent rise of conservative Brahmanism typified by Yudhisthra and Krsna. There seems to be a natural inclination in them towards Kaurvas which can be detected in Aravan's acceptance of the offer of Duryodhana and Barbarika's desire to fight for the weak and in both cases Krsna has to intervene to ward off the crisis through manipulations and trickery. The mixed races must have felt more comfortable with *Asuric* Duryodhana than the 'Brahmanic' Yudhisthra who symbolised their further marginalisation and possible extermination. It is relevant to remember in this context the open-hearted acceptance of Karna by Duryodhana in his fold and the constant abuses heaped by Pandavas on him for his supposedly low caste descent as well as an alignment of nearly all *Rakshasas* except Ghatotkca with Duryodhana. Duryodhana, in this sense, can be seen as a champion of all peripheral elements in terms of race and class. The absence of a clear cut answer by Barbarika as to the side on which he would fight in the war, reveals his own doubts on the reign of Yudhisthra as an ideal king who refuses to accept diversities and differences in racial terms. Along with the motif of Aryan homogenisation represented by Krsna and Yudhisthra through a concept of *dharma* which prioritised a conservative model of Brahmanism, thus expelling or enslaving the aboriginals, the political concept of Bharata envisioned a unified, singular entity controlled by a strong, unified monarchical system. As this unification entailed political annihilation of smaller kingdoms, the diverse kingdom ruled by smaller aboriginal princes were against the regime of totalitarianism represented by Pandavas and their allies. The myths related to conflicts between Pandavas and their aboriginal sons carry forward this opposition in the form of a struggle between Babhruvahana who has been called "a classical anti-imperialist" (Hiltebeitel 1999, 422) and Arjuna as well as through the desire of Barbarika to fight on the losing side. It is also visible in the determination of Aravan to sacrifice himself for the Kauravas to counter which Krsna has to use all his scheming to win him back.

The myth of Barbarika, thus, is articulated at various levels and its interpretation involves a collation of all these diverse strands. At the social and historical level, the myth represents a desire to attain prominence and recognition through adoption of the dominant codes of heroism which at the historical time of its unfolding were constituted by Brahmanism. Under their significations, a hero has not only to be martial but also to be *dani*–munificent towards the Brahmans and not deny them anything. Due to his situation as a warrior of the *Rakshasa* clan and a product of miscegenation between the Aryan-*Rakshasa* lineage, Barbarika has to surrender to both the chivalrous code of warriors as well as to the Aryan deference towards the twice borns, leading to his ultimate sacrifice which was largely determined by Aryan's abhorrence towards products of mixed races. In this

context the mimetic model of sacrifice proposed by Rene Girard adds some additional insights into the process. In the mimetic understanding of the sacrifice, human beings are characterised by a desire to imitate one another. But this mimetic desire "leads to hatred and violence which can, and does, become endemic, ultimately threatening the existence of the community as a whole. Sacrifice, Girard holds, is the cultural mechanism intended to stave off the potentially mortal danger for society that arises from the negative consequences of mimetic desire. It functions by targeting an individual 'scapegoat' onto whom the anti-social emotions are projected and whose removal leads to the expiation of dysfunctional elements from the life of the community" (Meszaros 2013, 8). Applied to the myth of Barbarika, the mimetic desires of *varna-sankara* progenies lead to the introduction of 'irritants' in the body-politic of Aryan-Brahmanism. The only way possible for it to maintain its purity and health is periodical banishment of such heterogeneous elements. The myth of Barbarika, thus, becomes a rite of purification, a catharsis to maintain the original purity of Aryan lineage through the sacrifice of a representative figure.

In addition to it, the path of the folk hero like Barbarika towards attainment of divinity signals some well-marked signposts in his movement towards social acceptance. The deification of the hero, according to Blackburn, requires three pre-requisites: "First, the death must be premature, an end that cuts short a person's normal life span. Second, and more important, the death must be violent, an act of aggression or a sudden blow from nature. Many deified heroes are killed in battle, some in less glorious conflicts; others (especially women) commit suicide. Lastly, the death that deifies is undeserved; the person killed is an innocent (if often fated) victim" (Blackburn 1985, 260). The severing of head of Barbarika provides an extreme instance of violence, which is an essential ingredient of the deification of a hero. Barbarika also fulfils other two conditions here viz. his undeserving and premature death. The severed head of Barbarika, through its constant presence as a symbol of violent death further acts as a reminder of the gory act, thus charting out a course towards his deification. Further, another process referred to by Freud in *Totem and Taboo* which also contributed in the deification of Barbarika is that the hostility one feels towards other people gets projected on the dead ones, thus leading to their appeasement through worship after death. This appeasement of the enemy, which takes place through conversion of their dead enemies into "guardians, friends and benefactors", makes human beings treat "their severed heads with affection" (Freud 1950, 37). This attitude to the severed heads of the enemies is not simply due to the fear of ghosts of their enemies but because of manifest feelings of "remorse, of admiration for the enemy and of a bad conscience for having killed him" (Freud 1950, 39). This understanding, which in Freud works on Individual level, can be applied to the social situations affected by racial conflicts in which a dead hero who suffers violent death is elevated to the status of deity as a kind of social repentance. This suggestion worked well in the present

case of the worship of Barbarika who after his violent expulsion from the Aryan ranks through Krsna, was elevated to the status of a folk deity. This also collates with numerous instances of the granting of boons to demons before taking their lives or their banishment. The worship of the severed head in the present context of Barbarika/Aravan can thus symbolise a deferred guilt and fear in Brahmanism, projected through the worship of the most potent symbol of the sacrificed hero.

The martial code of honour espoused by Barbarika, his pledge to his mother to fight on the side of the weak, his veneration of Brahmins and his unbreakable vows connect him with *kshtriya* chivalric code. Barbarika's fate is, thus, a result of the Aryan acceptance of the ethical superiority of Brahmans which was an important part of warrior ethics. In words of Hiltebeitel: "Barbarika makes an exemplary Rajput hero: ready to fight for either side, but especially the underdog; inordinately proud of his strength, yet willing to sacrifice its use; firm in his adherence to Rajput code of honour even when God violates it, and his parents' adherence to it is empty; willing at a flash to become a severed head" (Hiltebeitel 1999, 430-431). Along with Aryan *Kshtriya* martial code, the implications of a *jhinjhar*[9] in the myth of Barbarika and his identification with it are also part of Barbarika's complex legacy. These legacies, along with his transformation from a historical victim of racial conflicts to a folk deity with a consequent temporal metamorphosis of a severed head from a physical organ to a sacred divinity have puts him more securely in the fold of Brahmanism. This conversion of Barbarika into a symbol of a divine severed head hides within it contradictions related to a racially divergent social group. The martyrdom of Barbarika, as a part of his capitulation to hegemonic code of his times, has become a representative of complex Indian cultural legacy and in the deification of Barbarika there is an ironical justification of this transformation. By his gift of severed head he becomes a "kind of inverse *jhujhar*. Rather than a body that goes on fighting after the head is severed, he is a head that will get his sword-arm back to go on fighting within the next life – to complete the unfinished business of *Mahabharata*" (Hiltebeitel 1999, 431).[10]

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[9] *Jhinjhar* or *jhujhar* are decapitated horseman who save the sacred cows from the raiders and are part of protective village folk deities in Rajasthan.

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RAMCHARITMANAS AND BAKHTIN: A STUDY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF NOVELISTIC DISCOURSE DURING THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD

ISHITA VERMA & NIRBAN MANNA

ABSTRACT

Deliberating on the rudimentary essence of an epic, Mikhail Bakhtin, in his essay "Epic and Novel: Toward a Methodology for the Study of the Novel", states that the epic has always been a poem about the past. He calls the epic the "absolute past" which is complete and closed like a circle. In this essay, he makes a comparison between the epic and the novel calling the novel a new and developing genre. Bakhtin's classification of the epic as juxtaposed with his classification of the novel can be applied to a study of Tulasidasa's *Ramcharitmanas* which is a retelling of the Sanskrit epic *Ramayana* by Valmiki in the vernacular or Awadhi. Like Homer's *Odyssey*, *Ramcharitmanas* also features the characteristics that Bakhtin has associated with the novel, particularly "heteroglossia" and "centrifugal" narrative. The present paper seeks to analyse the *Ramcharitmanas* from the point of view of such concepts propounded by Bakhtin. In his later essays Bakhtin calls the novel a "species" of the great epic tradition. It is through this paper that one tries to prove the way the epics like *Ramcharitmanas* laid the foundation of the genre called the novel in Indian literature.

Keywords: Bakhtin, epic, novel, *Ramcharitmanas*, heteroglossia.

> Happy are those ages when the starry sky is the map of all possible paths-ages whose paths are illuminated by the light of the stars. Everything in such ages is new and yet familiar, full of adventure and yet their own. The world is wide and yet it is like a home, for the fire that burns in the soul is of the same essential nature as the stars; the world and the self, the light and the fire, are sharply distinct, yet they never become permanent strangers to one another, for fire is the soul of all light and all fire clothes itself in light (Georg Lukacs).

The medieval period in Indian history is probably the richest in terms of the production of literary works. The period that ranges roughly from the 6th to the 16th century not only saw the rise of a number of literary movements but also a swarm of poets and writers who were ready to move away from the conventions of Sanskrit that was initially the language of the elite, and write in the local dialects. As a result a number of new languages or *bhashas* began to emerge. There was a movement away from the classical Sanskrit tradition and a movement towards the vernacularization of classical texts. Earlier the readership of the classical texts such as the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata*, the *Vedas* and the *Upanishads* belonged with the Brahmins and the social elites. However, with the rise of the vernacular these texts were translated and made available for the reading of the general public. The Indian literary scene during this period was undergoing a major change with the emergence of several new languages such as Bangla, Oriya, Assamiya, Kashmiri, Punjabi in the North and Kannada, Telugu and Malayalam in the South. These new languages gave a new life to the classics of ancient Indian literature. Epics like *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* were revisited and recreated in a language that was easy for people to understand. Poets like Kampan in Tamil, Sarla Das in Oriya, Krittivas Ojha in Bengali, Ezhuttacchan in Malyalam and Tulsidasa in *Awadhi*, particularly, stood out as mediators between the classics and the modern languages.

The period also saw a series of social changes which gave impetus to the various literary developments. A number of new movements such as the *Bhakti* and the Sufi emerged which were both social as well as literary in nature. "Most of the *Bhakti* and Sufi saints attempted to harmonize the orthogenetic and the heterogenetic elements of the Great and the Little Traditions of both Hinduism and Islam" (Khan, Rasheeduddin, *The Role of Sufism,* 239). They possibly facilitated the secularization of the human imagination. The medieval movements led to a revolution of change from the sacred to the secular, leading to a new novelistic sensibility. This led to a series of people-centric movements. The poets and saints thus began using the language of the people, in order to convey their message of love and brotherhood. The poets did not want to rely much on the classical languages as the readers themselves were disillusioned by the sublime style of the scriptures. The use vernacular gave a local color to the texts and made them informal and this worldly, thus making it possible for the growth of novelistic possibilities. The *Bhakti* movement especially was a literary as well as a social movement that led to several reforms in the society. The movement blossomed during the 6th century in South India by a group of philosophers called the *Nayanmaras* and the *Alwars* and was a reaction against the prevailing political, economic, social and religious conditions of the society. The *Bhakti* philosophers worked against the Brahminical orthodoxy and rejected the caste system which treated the people from lower castes as outcastes. It was due to this reason that this period is also called the age of resistance by the scholars (Munshe K. M, Opinion on the period of *Bhakti* movement). The *Bhakti* saints spread their message through

the medium of songs and poetry. Their songs were a reflection of devotion to God and a means of bridging the gap created by the Brahmins and the devotees, especially those belonging to the lower strata of the society.

> The *Bhakti* authors detail their response to God and their response to their contexts in their poems. There is an important dynamic at work in the poems, as the authors join together transcendent and local themes. The poems are personal, yet the authors encourage others to participate in their worldview; similarly, God is transcendent, yet he is locally concerned (Karen Pechilli, *The Embodiment of Bhakti*, 6).

The movement slowly spread to North India with its pioneer being Radhakrishnan and also included such poets and saints as Kabirdasa, Mira Bai, Surdasa, Tulasidasa, Nanaka and such others. All these poet-saints sang of God as being one and had a large number of followers including both men and women from all walks of life.

The *Bhakti* movement not only had an effect on the social and political scenario of the time but also on the literary scene. There can be seen a shift towards the vernaculars or the local dialect during this period. Poets like Tulasadisa, Kabir, Ravidasa, Surdasa wrote in *Awadhi*, Hindi or *Brajbhasha* thus reaching out to a larger audience. A number of new literary forms such as the *qissas*[1]. The term qissa means story in Arabic. It is a prose narrative usually in the tradition of romance or fairy tale, *namas*[2] (a Persian form of narrative which deals with the life of the central character. It can be both biographical and autobiographical) *charitas*[3] *(Buddhacharita, Harshacharita), kavyas* (refers to an Indian literary form in Sanskrit which flourished in the 7th century), *dasatans*[4] *(The Book of Dede Korkut)* (*Dastan* is a Persian form of oral storytelling) etc. thrived due to Arabic-Persian influence during the medieval period. Tulsidasa's famous rendition of the *Ramayana* into Awadhi as *Ramcharitmanas* made the great epic available to the common man for reading and performance. With the development and emergence of such genres and the translation of great epics a new window was opened in the literary scene that led to the process of novelization of the texts. Asaduddin points out that "India had already a rich tradition of storytelling. What was missing were some features of formal equivalence, a certain conception of character and world view" (*First Urdu Novel*, 126). The features of novelization were present in the other genres but had not yet reached any recognizable level of significance. Though none of the forms could assert to be the exact and fixed model for the modern novel individually, together they paved the way for the novelistic genres.

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[1] The term *qissa* means story in Arabic. It is a prose narrative usually in the tradition of romance or fairy tale.

[2] Nama in Persian is a narrative which deals with the life of the central character. It can be both biographical and autobiographical.

[3] Charita refers to a text that narrates the story of the central character.

[4] Dastan is a Persian form of oral storytelling.

(Garg, Pooja 171). It can be said that it was due to this novelization of texts that the Indian novel flourished and evolved. The scholars of Indian literature however, laid more emphasis on the ancient oral tradition, folklores and the classical epics and texts as being the precursor of the Indian novel and ignored the medieval period completely. Then there are others who believe the novel to be an outcome of the years of colonial rule. Although the novel has essentially been an English genre, in the words of Meenakshi Mukherjee it would be unfair to regard the novel as an English legacy and ignore the cultural heritage responsible for the development of this modern genre (*Realism and Reality*, 52). According to her to call the novel a product of Western influence is to "to overlook the complex cultural determinants of a literary genre" (*Twice Born Fiction*, 2).

In order to get a better understanding of the process of novelization in the medieval period it is important to understand the novel as a genre. For this purpose we take Tulasidasa's *Ramcharitmanas*, a prominent medieval text of epic proportions written in the 16th century and bring out the various novelistic elements in the text. Literally meaning "the Manasa Lake brimming over with the exploits of Rama", the *Ramcharitmanas* is divided into seven sections known as *Kandas,* describing the various stages in the life of Lord Rama. Of these seven stages the Bāla-Kānda or the childhood episode and the *Ayodhya-Kanda* or the *Ayodhya* episode comprise more than half of the text. The work consists of around 12,800 lines divided into 1,073 stanzas consisting of *Chaupai* (four-line quatrains) separated by *Dohas* (two-line couplet). As the text is transmuted from its classic original to the vernacular, it undergoes a number of changes that aim towards a rising novelization of imagination. This makes *Ramcharitmanas* a prospective model for the modern Indian novel. Apart from Tulsidasa's version of the text a number of other versions of the *Ramayana* can also be found in the Buddhist *Jatakas*, Kritivas' Bengali and Kampan's Tamil *Ramayana*, Eknath's Marathi as well as in Malayalam, Urdu, Telugu and Kannada. All these writers have explored the different aspects of the story of Rama from their own points of view. This rewriting and retelling of the story of *Ramayana* in diverse languages and in so many different forms such as oral, written and dramatic makes it a novelistic text. In fact, the very task of revisiting and rewriting the great classic of Sanskrit in the vernacular was itself novelistic in nature. The process of novelization can be understood with reference to the theories provided by Mikhail Bakhtin in his book titled *The Dialogic Imagination* first published in 1975. Bakhtin in this book calls novelization "anti-canonical, non-sacred, non-scriptural process of secular life" (3). In order to understand the various elements of a novelized narrative, it is important to understand the intrinsic characteristics of the two genres that represent the classical and the modern, that is, the epic and the novel. According to Bakhtin, the novelization of genres is achieved when "they become dialogized, permeated with laughter, irony, humour, elements of self-parody" (7). The novel can thus be said to

be a breakdown of the classical into the ordinary. To Terry Eagleton, the novel is a "genre which resists exact definition" (*The English Novel*, 1).

The novel according to Bakhtin continues to grow and evolve while the other genres including the epic and poetry are available to the readers in their complete form and only need to be modified through an artist's creative sensibility. Bakhtin maintains that a novel "can include, ingest, devour other genres and still retain its status as a novel, but other genres cannot include novelistic elements without impairing their own identity as epics, odes or any other fixed genre" (*The Dialogic Imagination*, xxxii). Novelization, according to Bakhtin is an endless process as the "novel permits the incorporation of various genres, both artistic (inserted short stories, lyrical songs, poems, dramatic scenes, etc.) and extra-artistic (everyday rhetorical, scholarly, religious genre and others)" (320). It can be said that the novel can incorporate any genre in itself and there are times when it becomes difficult to find a genre that has not at some point been included by someone in the novel. However, the genres incorporated in the novel do not lose their structural uniqueness. Novelization refers to this incorporation of numerous linguistic and structural elements from other genres into the novel. In fact, "the novel was made of different clay than the already completed genres; it is a different breed, and with it and in it is born the future of all literature" (39). All the other genres display a different characteristic in the presence of the novel. Bakhtin asserts in his essay that the novel does not have a form of its own but is made by the coming together of various forms of narratives. He goes on to says that, "the novel as a genre is unique in that it is able to embrace, ingest, and devour other genres while still maintaining its status as a novel. Other genres, however, cannot emulate the novel, without damaging their own distinct identity" (xxxii). The novel is nothing but the breaking down of conventions into something casual and routine.

> The novel took shape precisely at the point when "epic distance" was disintegrating, when both the world and man were assuming a degree of comic familiarity, when the object of artistic representation was being degraded to the level of a contemporary reality that was inconclusive and fluid" (39).

The origin of the novel or the process of novelization thus led to a disintegration of imagination into everyday realities of the world.

Novelization, however, does not simply mean, ascribing a universal tenet to the genres that are already complete, rather it implies an emancipation of the genres from all that puts a restraint on them and prevents them from becoming "a stylization of form that have outlived themselves" (39). A novelized text displays a certain amount of freedom flexibility. It brings to the fore the various inner discords of its characters and also aids the analysis of several themes and issues. Novelistic discourse is characterized by dialogism and heteroglossia. A text exhibits multiplicity of voices. Dialogism, according to Bakhtin, can be found

across all languages. A discourse is not only multi-voiced, but also multi-layered. Whereas, dialogism denotes the presence of multiple voices in a text, heteroglossia indicates multiplicity of meaning in a text. Carnivalization is another feature which is central to the process of novelization. Carnival, basically, means subversion of authority. M.H. Abrams defines carnivalesque as "The literary mode which parallels the flouting of authority and temporary inversion of social hierarchies that, in many cultures, are permitted during a season of carnival" (Abrams, *A Glossary*, 74). A novelized text does so by bringing together the varied social levels in a dialogic communication with the each other as well as the narrators. Bakhtin describes the carnival as a "pageant without footlights and without a division into performers and spectators" that tends to interrupt the "hierarchical structure and all the forms of terror, reverence, piety and etiquette connected with it" (Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, 122). It blends "the sacred with the profane, the lofty with the low, the great with the insignificant, and the wise with the stupid" (123). An important feature of the world of carnival is that nothing is fixed, everything is in a flux. Terry Eagleton writes that the carnival "releases the potential for a golden age, a friendly world of 'carnival truth' in which 'man returns to himself'" (Eagleton, *Towards a Revolutionary* 145). He traces the carnival's subversive capability to its textualization. He claims carnival is, in effect, a kind of fiction: a temporary re-textualizing of the social formation that exposes its "fictive" foundations (149).

Although the novel is a comparatively new genre and is still in a state of development, the process of novelization began long before its appearance. Bakhtin states that even before the emergence of the novel on the literary scene there can be seen a number of genres that imitate and communicate from "various vantage points another's word, another's speech and language, including also the language of the direct genres" (Bakhtin, *The Dialogic*, 50). The emergence of the novel can be traced back to the oral tradition of folktales folklores and fables. It was to these varied forms that the novel owes its existence. The novel is indebted to what Bakhtin calls the "pre-novelistic discourse" (50). This paper aims to bring out the role played by Tulasidasa's *Ramcharitmanas* in influencing the development of a new genre, that is, the novel, in India. Novel in India is not just a by-product of its western counterpart, but is a result of the literature that emerged before it in the local tradition. The medieval writers used a number of narratives to write which later influenced the Indian fiction and must be given due credit. There are such genres as the *qissa*, *namas*, and *charit*. For this paper we lay our focus on the genre of *charit* laying emphasis on *Ramcharitmanas*.

As an influential work of the medieval *Bhakti* movement, *Ramcharitmanas* needs to be regarded differently from its original text that is the *Ramayana* by Valmiki. Valmiki's *Ramayana* touted as a holy text, undergoes changes in the medieval period leading to novelization of texts. It can be said that the sacred is here overturned into the vernacular in the *Ramcharitmanas* and thus it can be

possible to regard it as a model for the modern Indian novel. *Ramcharitmanas* then becomes a social epic rather than a religious epic that it earlier was. Tulasidasa in his text has made some major changes that make the two texts different from one another. In Valmiki's *Ramayana*, Sita is banished by Rama into the forest where her two sons are born, Tulasidasa has however, not included this episode in his *Ramcharitmanas* as it is often deemed as controversial. Since Tulasidasa's text was written for the common people he also avoids the episode where Rama kills a man from the lower class of the society as a way of atonement of his sins. *The Ramcharitmanas* undergoes changes in its narrative style, portrayal of different characters and even the language used it write the text, as such transforming the classical into the popular. The classical is closed whereas the popular has more elements of carnival and heteroglossia. Now, *Ramcharitmanas* is not simply a translation of the *Ramayana* into the vernacular. The text has gone through several levels of transmutations in the hand of Tulasidasa. A comparison of the two texts helps in understanding the novelistic elements in the latter. Having been written in Hindi, *Ramcharitmanas* became more popular than the *Ramayana*. It became an epic that descended to the level of human experiences and worldly concerns. Apart from Tulasidasa, several other writers also explored the Rama story in various languages such as the Buddhist Jatakas, Kamban's Tamil and Kritivas' Bengali *Ramayana*, Eknath's *Bhavarth* in Marathi, as well as Malayalam, Telugu, Urdu, and Kannada. The Rama story has thus been explored by these writers at different points of time and from different points of view. "The novel is a genre that is ever questing, ever examining itself and subjecting its established to review" (Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination,* 39) The fact that the story has not only been told from different points of view but also that it has been rendered in a variety of different forms including oral and dramatic makes *Ramcharitmanas* a novelized text.

Tulasidasa's endeavour to revisit the classical and religious epic and write it in the vernacular can itself be considered a novelistic enterprise. At a time when Sanskrit was in vogue Tulsidasa chose Awadhi to rewrite the *Ramcharitmanas* thus, going against the norms. He wanted to make the text accessible to the people of the lower strata of the society who were not allowed to read Sanskrit. Sanskrit at the time was considered the domain of the *Brahmins* and the educated elites. Just like society, language too was divided by caste and class. Tulasidasa helped in bridging the gap created in the society by using the language of the common people. Use of informal dialogues makes the text even more contemporary. Verses from the text began to be recited in every household irrespective of their position in the society. The universal or the divine was here reduced to the level of the human. The poetry then becomes a way social communication rather than dissipation for itself. Tulasidasa wrote about every aspect of life including religious, philosophical, cultural, social, and left no sphere untouched. It became a text for the people popularly known as *lok-katha*. The fragmentation of the classical into the ordinary gave the text its novelistic dimension.

> Tulsidas's *Ramcharitmanas* has an intimate local foregrounding unlike Valmiki's *Ramayana* which is replete with over-arching mythology. The historicity of the author in itself ensures the uncanny intervention of the experimental, the existential and the historical in his writings or re-writings (Garg, 34).

Tulasidasa in his act of writing the great narrative suspends his own subject position, his socio-cultural milieu, and more importantly his destiny as a human being. Through the *Ramcharitmanas*, Tulasidasa puts his position in the social as well as cultural background into peril. According to certain scholars Valmiki is a mythological figure whereas Tulasidasa is historical. This actual presence of the author leads to a belief that his writings will have historical as well as existential experiments.

Ramcharitmanas is not only read and narrated widely it is also a text that is known for being performed in the form of *Ramlila* in which the actors portray the major incidents described in the life of Rama. In this dramatization of the *Ramcharitmanas*, the actors or the performers take part without any distinction of their class or caste. The performers are transformed into kings and queens and divine figures with the help of costumes and props and get to live a grand life through their act. Thus, it can be said that the *Ramlila* helps in reversal of roles as the participants get transported to the world of the characters. This hints at the carnivalesque aspect of the text. During the performance the prevalent hierarchies are disrupted as people from the lower casts get to become kings, queens and gods for the day. There are no caste differences as people from the lower castes get to play roles of people belonging to the upper caste. The audiences also consist of people belonging to different classes coming together to watch the performance and rejoice in the deeds of their lord. There is an atmosphere of mirth and laughter. According to Bakhtin, "All were considered equal during the carnival. Here, in the town square, a special form of free and familiar contact reigned among people who were usually divided by the barriers of caste, property, profession, age" (*Rabelais and His World*, 10). The performance of *Ramcharitmanas* as *Ramlila* helps in reducing the space between the various classes in the society even if it is only temporary. While watching the actor play the role of Rama on stage, the audiences feel as if they are watching the epic hero himself. This brings the people closer to their hero. This performative characteristic of the text also adds to it being novelistic in nature as it made the epic fairly popular among the working classes. According to Phillip Lutgendorf:

> The telling is the mirror of the text, reproducing its fundamental structure in infinite variation. In the process of performance, the text is indeed interpreted and understood – but the cognitive model here relates more closely to the heart than to the mind: to meditative intuition and emotional appreciation rather than intellectual analysis (*The life of a Text*, 287).

The performance of *Ramcharitmanas* can be called carnivalesque as there can be seen an intermingling of the higher and the lower authorities, thus making the text novelistic.

Another facet of carnivalesque is grotesque realism. This refers to an exaggerated description of the body. This includes such characters as the clown or any other comic figure. In the *Ramcharitmanas* the grotesque is brought out by such characters as Kumbhakarana. The word Kumbhakarana which means 'ears like pots', was a demon who spent six months of the year eating and the other six months sleeping. Tulasidasa describes him thus:

> Mahish Khayi kari madira paan/ garja bajaghat samaana/
>
> Kumbhkarana dumard ranranga/ chala durg taji sain na sanga/
>
> [Having feasted on the buffaloes and drunk the wine, he roared like a crash of lightning. Heavily drunk and zealous for fray the high-mettled Kumbhkarana sallied forth from his stronghold without any troops. (*Ramcharitmanas* 524)

In fact, Ravana himself can be said to have a grotesque body as he is said to possess ten heads. Carnival is also associated with humour and revelry. Tulasidasa presents certain episodes in the *Ramcharitmanas* in such a manner that they bring out laughter and humour among the readers and audiences. Some episodes like Lakshmana cutting off Surpnakha's (Ravana's sister) nose or the scene where Hanumana's tale is set on fire by Ravana or even the scene where Kumbhakarana is seen sleeping for six months, tossing, turning and snoring are described in a way that makes the audience laugh thus confirming the novelistic potential of the text. According to Bakhtin such comic episodes obliterates the epic distance. In his own words:

> ...everything that makes us laugh is close at hand, all comical creativity works in a zone of maximal proximity. Laughter has the remarkable power of making an object come up close, of drawing it into a zone of crude contact where one can finger it familiarly on all sides, turn it upside down, inside out, ... break open its external shell, look into its center, doubt it, take it apart, dismember it, lay it bare and expose it, examine it freely and experiment with it ... (*The Dialogic Imagination* 23).

In the *Ramlila*, the hierarchy is disrupted by humour thus making the epic more novelistic. It is here that the novelistic possibilities of the text are revealed leading to a destruction of the epic stature of the text.

Dialogism is an important element of novelization. Bakhtin distinguishes between the language of poetry and the language of prose calling the language of poetry monologic and that of prose dialogic. However, this is not the case with Indian texts and specially *Ramcharitmanas.* The first section itself is divided into a number of quatrains and couplets which are dialogic. In fact Tulsidasa himself writes:

> Suthi sumdara sambada bara bichare buddhi bicari,
> Tei ehi pavana subahag sara ghata manohara cari
> (The four most beautiful and excellent dialogues (viz., those between (i)Bhusundi and Garuda, (ii) Siva and Parvati, (iii) Yajnavalkya and Bharadvaja and (iv) between Tulsidasa and other saints) that have been clearly woven into this narrative are the four ghatas of this Holy and charming lake). (*Ramcharitmanas,* 66).

According to Tulasidasa then the *Ramcharitmanas* is a sequence of dialogues between the above mentioned people and they form the essence of the narrative of the text. The story of the text is woven into a beautiful dialogue through these people. It is through these characters that the dialogue gets transferred to the readers. The dialogues are written in Awadhi which was the language of the common masses and helped transform the text from a religious epic to a social epic. This clearly brings out the dialogic nature of the text and is a major step towards the process of novelization.

Characterization after dialogism forms another important element of novelization. An epic hero is not just an individual but a "product of estrangement from the outside world" (Lukacs 66). In an epic the characters' destiny is linked to that of the society and they carry allegorical values whereas in a novel the characters are closer to life. *Ramcharitmanas* gives us a number of examples of such characters most of whom are introduced in the *Bala-Kanda* itself like Rama, Lakshmana, Bharata, Shatrughna, Sita, Dashratha, Ravana and his brothers and such others. Each character has its own weaknesses which makes them more life-like. Rama, the hero is supposed to be an incarnation of Lord Vishnu himself however his actions make him more human. At several places in the text he exhibits emotions such as joys, sorrow, helplessness which are all human attributes. It has been observed that almost without exception before and during the Chola period, Rama appears as a human figure with two arms and a bow… in Kampan too, the most common epithet for Rama is not "God" but "hero". All this evidence confirms an emerging consensus that in pre-modern times, Rama in stone and story was primarily a model for Kingship, not an object to worship. (Blackburn, *Inside the Drama House*, 40). At a number of places in the text Rama is seen behaving like any other normal human being. For instance, Rama and his brothers can be seen playing together like any other kids. The brothers indulge in a number of childish activities. In the beginning of the text itself, Rama is shown as a child involved in all sorts of childish activities:

> Ehi bidhi sisubinoda prabhu kinha, sakala nagarabasinha sukha dinha.
> lai uchamga kabhukahalaravi, kaanhu palne ghaali jhulavai
> (In this way the Lord sported as a child, to the delight of the people of the city, the mother would now dandle Him in her arms, now put Him down in the cradle and rock him) (*Ramcharitmanas,* 216).

In an epic the characters are larger than life and are important as allegorical figures whereas in a novel the characters are everyday human beings with all their faults and follies. *Ramcharitmanas* also introduces us to a number of characters like Rama, Sita, Lakshmana, Manthara, Kaikey, Vibhishana who have their own vulnerabilities. Valmiki made his characters epic heroes and divine figures, whereas Tulasidasa's characters are essentially humans. Although Rama is said to possess the highest of ideals he too experiences such emotions as doubt, shame, helplessness, loss and so on. He even undergoes certain inner and external conflicts which only brimg out his human side. When Rama learns of Sita's abduction by Ravana he is shattered. He wails and cries loudly and runs through the forest calling out for his beloved wife. Here he is not an epic hero but a lovelorn man who has just lost his wife and is unable to hold back his emotions. Rama can thus be seen as another human being, a king who can be idealised as a ruler but not divine (Blackburn, Inside the Drama House, 40).

Not only does the performance of *Ramcharitmanas* as *Ramlila* bring out the carnivalesque in the text, certain characters do so to. The portrayal of Rama and his brothers as children in the first section also displays carnivalesque elements in the text. The bond that Rama shares with his mother Kausalya can also be seen as carnivalesque as the bond between a mother and his child is never official rather it is a source of pure joy to Kausalya. In fact, if Kauslaya would go to call Rama while he was playing with his friends he would run away and not listen to her. These are the things that any child would do. Even while having his meal Rama would run around with his mouth full of food, thus depicting in every manner the behaviours of a child. Here Rama is not Lord Rama, but child Rama running away from his mother and playing with his friends. Thus, in depicting Rama as a child in the *Bala-Kanda* the poet Tulasidas has portrayed him as being truly human.

The love between Rama and Sita also brings out the carnivalesque in the text. Sita falls in love with Rama as soon as she lays eyes on him. The love that she has for him at this moment is purely physical. Prominence here is given to the physical beauty of the two lovers which is against the norms of the society. Both Rama and Sita are drawn towards each other in their first meeting itself. They are attracted to each other's physical beauty and their hearts are filled with raptures of delight:

> Thake nayana raghupati chabidekhe, palakanhinu parihari nimese.
> Adhika sanhea deha bhai bhori, sarad sasihi janu citava cakori.
> Locana maga ramahi ura ani, dinhe palakakapata sayani.
> (Her eyes were filled with greed; they rejoiced as if they had discovered their longlost treasure. The eyes became motionless at the sight of Sri Rama's loveliness; the eyelids too forgot to fall. Due to excess of love Her body consciousness began to fail; it looked as if a Cakora bird were gazing at the autumnal moon. Receiving Sri Rama into the heart through the passage of the eyes, She cleverly shut him up there by closing the doors of Her eyelids.) (245).

Rama also goes through similar emotions when he sees her for the first time Sita with her friends. On seeing Sita's beauty Rama is filled with joy and feels as though Brahma, the creator had used all his creative powers to create her. The fact that they are attracted by each other's physical beauty and not inner one helps in attributing to Rama the worldly characteristics which assign novelistic possibility to the text. Apart from Rama and Sita, Lakshmana, also displays novelistic posibilities. Unlike his brother Rama, Lakshmana is short-tempered and is angered at the slightest provocation. His anger is brought out in the Bala-Kanda during Sita's *swayamvara*[5] when no one is able to lift Siva's bow. Sita's father King Janaka had pledged that he would marry away his daughter Sita only to someone who would be able to lift Siva's bow. However, during the *swayamvara* when no one is able to lift it he is greatly disappointed and says that if he had known there was no one strong enough to lift a bow he would never have taken such a pledge. This remark by Janaka angers Lakshmana:

> Janaka bacana suni saba nara nari, dekhi janakihi bhae dukhari.
> Makhe lakhanu kutila bhai bhauhe, radapata pharakata nayana risauhe.
> (All who heard Janaka's words, men and women alike, felt distressed at the sight of Janaki. Lakshmana, however got incensed: his eyebrows were knit, his lips quivered and his eyes shot fire) (262).

He is angered to the extent that he himself wants to lift the bow and break it into pieces. He finds Janaka's words insulting not only for himself and his brother but to the whole of Raghu race.

The presence of novelistic characteristics, make *Ramcharitmanas* an interesting work to be read and performed. The various re-tellings make the text open-ended as Ramanujan clearly states in his essay *Three Hundred Ramayanas*:

> … in this sense, no text is original, yet no telling is a mere retelling – the story has no closure, although it may be enclosed in a text. In India and Southeast Asia, no one ever reads the *Ramayana* and the Mahabharata for the first time the stories are there "always ready" (46).

In fact, Tulasidasa's *Ramcharitmanas* has been a source of inspiration for writer of Hindi, English and other languages not only during the medieval period but also during the modern times. In fact Tulasidas has served as an inspiration for a number of twentieth century Hindi writers like Nirala, Maithilisharan Gupta, Dushyant Kumar, Rameshwar Dayal and also English writers like Meena Kandasamy, Devdutt Patnaik, Sarah Joseph, Asok k. Banker and others. Bakhtin states that, "the novelization of other genres does not imply their subjection to an alien generic canon; on the contrary, novelization implies their liberation from all that serves as a brake on their unique development (39). The retelling of Rama's

[5] The practice, where a girl of marriageable age chooses her husband from among a list of suitors.

story by Tulasidasa has led to a significant change in the portrayal of the character of Rama by the various Hindi poets. These poets have depicted Rama in a new light; not as a divine figure as has been depicted by Valmiki in his *Ramayana* but a novelised form of his character who is an ordinary human being. The fact that *Ramcharitmanas* has been rewritten and retold by a number of different writers and in numerous ways makes the text novelistic.

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ON MYTHOLOGICAL MOTIVES IN ONE BYLINA

MAXIM ANATOL'EVICH YUYUKIN

ABSTRACT

This article deals with mythological motives reflected in the bylina "Dobrynya and Nastas'ya". This work of Russian oral literature has not been mentioned so far among the bylinas which have preserved traces of the East Slavic mythology. Meanwhile, the close connection of the motives of (oak-)tree splitting and of wedding (= combat against a female rival if we take into consideration the folk metaphor "wedding – battle"), we find in it, allows comparing this bylina with the Lettish and Bulgarian epic songs representing variants of the principal Indo-European myth. The author analyzes genetic relations of many details of these texts in order to explain their origin, mutual connections, and transformations. Considerable attention is also given to the images of the main personages. The image of the warrior maiden Nastas'ya Mikulichna is included in the range of associations leading to the figure of a creature who belongs to the infernal world, and, finally, to the image of a snake near the world tree – a rival of the thunderstorm god. Numerous parallels connecting the image of Dobrynya with the main figure of the Ossetic Nart epic Soslan/Sozyryko (some of which are obviously secondary in the bylinas) indicate its compound character, which combines the original features of the thunderstorm god with the borrowings from East Iranian epic.

Keywords: Slavic mythology, bylina, "Dobrynya and Nastas'ya", principal myth, image of a(n oak-)tree, image of a snake, thunderstorm god, Indo-European parallels.

INTRODUCTION TO THE PROBLEMATICS

The fact that mythological notions of the East Slaves are reflected in the bylinas is well known. For all that, as is noted, for example, by B.N. Putilov (1999: 18), the number of the bylinas which have preserved mythological plots in their pure form is not large (he attributes only three of them to this group: "The cure of Il'ya Muromets", "The bogatyr' and the wonderful bag", "Il'ya Muromets and Sviatogor"). More often, mythological motives are present in bylinas as separate

reminiscences; they are the most visible in such works as "Mikhailo Potyk", "Dunai", "Volkh Vseslav'evich", and others.

The bylina "Dobrynya and Nastas'ya" ("Dobrynya's wedding") (which is contaminated in some records with the other bylinas of Dobrynya Nikitich – "Dobrynya and the snake", "Dobrynya and Alyosha"; the list of the published variants see in Dobrynya... 1974: 395) is not included in either list. Meanwhile, its plot, in our opinion, dates back to the last episode of the principal Indo-European myth and finds parallels in the Baltic and South Slavic epic texts.

As Vyach. Vs. Ivanov and V.N. Toporov (1974: 96) point out, "the last episode of the myth is divided into two basic parts: 1) the victory of the Thunderstorm God over his rival, being realized in splitting or burning a(n) (oak-)tree, or in splitting a stone under which his rival hides; 2) the release of the waters (rain) or of a cattle, fertility, welth which the god's rival was hiding". According to J.J. Fraser (Freser 1986: 156), the cult of oak-tree (or of an oak-tree's god) probably existed among all the Indo-European peoples of Aryan origin. A.N. Afanas'ev ([1865–1869]: I [26, etc.]) with the naïve direct approach in the spirit of the mythological school's methodology interpreted the oak-tree as a metaphor of storm-cloud. Outside oral literature, separate reminiscences of the principal myth on the Slavic ground also occur mostly among the South Slavs: cf., e.g., the custom of the snake expulsion (гоненето на змий) in the Bulgarian rites for invoking rain (Tolstye 1978: 114; see Ivanov & Toporov 1974: 116n). The association of oak-tree and rain is known among the Finno-Ugrians as well: the Erza Mordvins, when they prayed for rain, turned towards an oak, saying: "Oak god (Tumo-pas), give rain" (Holmberg 1927: 188).

The bylina's plot is as follows. Dobrynya (in the contaminated variants – when returning after the victory over the snake) comes across a bogatyr' in the woman's clothes in the open field and attacks him (by sword, club, or, more rarely, arrow), but that does not pay any attention to Dobrynya. The perplexed hero begun to doubt in his force tries it by shattering an oak-tree as big as a man in circumference. Cheered up, Dobrynya repeats his attack, and the situation recurs (but now the oak-tree is as big as two men in circumference). Only after the third Dobrynya's blow the female bogatyr' turns round, grabs the aggressor at his curls, and puts him into her kit-bag together with his horse. However, her horse refuses to carry two mighty bogatyr's at the same time. Then, Nastas'ya Mikulichna takes Dobrynya out of her kit-bag (in some variants, she calls his name, which surprises Dobrynya). She says that if he is a person of mature age, he will be as a father for her; if he is a young man and she likes him, he will become her husband; but if she dislikes him, "на долонь кладу, другой прижму и в овсяный блин ёго да сделаю" 'I put him on my one palm, I shall press him by my other palm, and I shall make an oat pancake from him' (Gil'ferding 1873: 38). Forced to marry the

powerful virgin under threat of death, Dobrynya brings her to Kiev, introduces her to his mother and Prince Vladimir, after which a wedding ceremony takes place.

The different records do not find significant plot discrepancies. In the isolated variants, the forces of two bogatyr's turn out to be equal and the initiative of marriage comes from Dobrynya (Grigoriev 1904: I 196–197; Byliny Pudozhskogo kraia 1941: 34); in one case, Dobrynya wins (Kriukova 1939: 267–268).

PLOT OF THE PRINCIPAL MYTH IN THE BYLINA "DOBRYNYA AND NASTAS'YA" AND ITS PARALLELS

As one can see, the key episode of the first part – (oak-)tree splitting – is twice repeated in this bylina: "А стоит же во чистом поли да сырой дуб Да в обнём же он стоит да человеческий. Наезжает же Добрынюшка на сырой дуб А попробывать да силы богатырскии. Как ударит тут Добрынюшка во сырой дуб, Он росшиб же дуб да весь по ластиньям… Он стоит-то в два обнёма человеческих…" 'And the moist oak stands in the open field, And it stands as big as a man in circumference. Then Dobryniushka runs against the moist oak to test his Herculean forces. Then Dobryniushka suddenly struck the oak, He splitted the whole oak to pieces… It stands as big as two men in circumference…' (Gil'ferding 1873: 37).

In combination with the motif of the main character's marriage/duel with a female rival (the identity of these two variants becomes clear if one takes into account the widely spread folk metaphor "wedding – battle" (about the latter, see Novichkova 1987: 11), this episode relates to the Lettish dainas and the Bulgarian song "Prince Marko and Vida samovila". This is a translation of one of the dainas (after the Russian edition):

"The Moon married the Sun's daughter,
Perkuans went as a marriage-broker.
When entering the gates,
He breaks a golden oak-tree.
He splatters my brown westcoat
With the oak-tree's blood".

The latter detail, in comparison with the identical description in the other song, shows that the oak-tree is isofunctional with the god's rival (on the basis of the metonymical transfer because the latter hides in the oak-tree's hollow, according to the principal myth (see Ivanov & Toporov 1974: 6):

"I cut the demon's head
To nine pieces.
My brown westcoat was splattered
With the demon's blood".

Sometimes, the breaking of the oak-tree takes place twice as well as in the considering bylina:

"The Moon married the Sun's daughter.
Perkuans went as an overtaker [a bride's relative].
On the way there and back,
He breaks a golden oak-tree" (Sbornik… 1873: 25–27).

In the occasion of this plot, P. Šmits (1926: 24–25) notes that "it may be a very old myth". The association between this bylina's plot and the Balto-Slavic notions of the matrimonial relations of the Sun and the Moon is evoked by the typical for lamentations comparison (in the lamentation of Dobrynya's mother) of Dobrynya with the sun and Nastas'ya with the moon: "Закатилося сугревное меженное теплое красное солнышко За лесушки да темные, за горушки да высокие, За мхи, за озера за широкие. Столько светит на меня теперичку светел месяц, – Осталася со мной невестушка молода Настасья дочь Микулична" 'The warm midsummer red sun set Behind dark forests, behind high mountains, Behind mosses, behind wide lakes. Only the light moon shines on me now, – My young daughter-in-law Nastas'ya, Mikula's daughter, stayed with me' (Gil'ferding 1873: 580–581).

The plot more detailed than that in the dainas, is represented in the Bulgarian song whose character as well as Dobrynya deals with a female rival:

"'тук е фтесна Вида самовила;
заключила дванайсе извори
стред гората в едно суво дърво,
по сфе суво, на върο зелено!'…
го намери това суво дърво;
по сфе суво, на върο зелено.
Та го фати с тешка боздугана,
го изтроши комат по комата;
и му строши дванайсе ключови,
та притекоа дванайсе извори" (BNT 1961: IV 158).

"'Vida samovila is to blame;
She hid twelve springs,
Imprisoned them in a dry tree,
In that dry one with the green top!'...
He found that dry tree,
That dry one with the green top.
He struck it with his heavy club,
He splitted it to pieces;
He broke twelve locks,
And twelve springs flowed".

Unlike the bylina, the result of the meeting of the South Slavic hero with his rival is tragic: Marko kills the samovila, which reflects the original variant of this myth. Toporov (1986: 56–58) compares the song of Marko and Vida samovila with the Indian myths of Vṛtra and Vala, with the implication that the image of the vila is a transformation of the original snake – the Thunderer's rival (however, M.G. Khalansky (1893: 337, 345) came to the same conclusions much before). What about the mythological basis of the image of Prince Marko, it is connected with the cult image of the Thracian rider and the spirit – the ancestors' protector (E. Todorov) (see Putilov 1999: 19–20).

In a Serbian song, we meet with the other variant of this plot: Marko hits on a fir by his club in order to shake off the vila sitting on it to the ground and grabs his

victim's twelve plaits, which are obviously identical with the twelve springs of the Bulgarian ballad.

Besides the considering bylina, we find only faint, fragmentary traces of the oak-tree splitting episode in Russian folklore, in which the original context is completely reduced: for instance, a fairy-tale character hits on an oak-tree in order to make a flying ship go out of it; in another tale, this tree is splitted by an eagle (Afanas'ev [1865–1869]: I [158, 177]). More distinctly the original mythological content of this episode has been preserved in the old oak-tree shooting scene (the tale "Koz'ma Skorobogatyi (Koz'ma the Get-Rich-Quick)" (Skazki 1989: 2 136). However, in the vast majority of the cases, the image of the tree in which the waters are imprisoned is subjected itself to a peculiar splitting instead of the oak-tree: the character obtains both the rejuvenating apples from a bogatyr' virgin's marvelous tree and the alive and dead water (Narodnye… 1984–1985: I 349–374; Velikorusskie… 1964: 53–59), but there is no direct connection between the tree and the water. One ought to mention also a unique, undoubtedly archaic variant in which all the three participants of the original mythological action (the hero(-thunderer), the snake, and the oak-tree) are present: "…я иду по дороге, кричит мне дуб: "Скажи царю-та, долго ли мне еще стоять?". – "Ему стоять до тех пор, – сказал царь, – как подойдет к нему кто да толкнет его ногою, тогда он выворотится с корнем и упадет, а под ним злата и серебра многое множество – столько нет у Марка Богатого!"… Сказал царь Змий и заснул крепким сном" 'I go along the road, the oak-tree cries to me: "Ask the tsar how long I have to stand?". "He has to stand", the tsar said, "until somebody comes up to it and pushes it with his foot. Then, it will be uprooted and will fall, and there is a great number of gold and silver under it – Marko the Rich has not got so much!"… The tsar Snake said so and fell into a deep sleep' (Narodnye… 1984–1985: II 349).

More completely the final episode of the myth has been preserved in the Belarusian fairy-tales where Perun (or the tsar Thunderbolt) breaks the oak-tree, often during the battle against the demon (Ivanov & Toporov 1974: 97).

The motif of the waters imprisoned in the oak-tree and of their following release, kept intact by Bulgarian folklore, underwent the metaphorical rethinking among the Balts, in whose dainas the water turned to the oak-tree's blood. The echo of the original image is heard, however, in the mention of a river of which nine streams flow out (or of a lake of which nine rivers run out), where one ought to wash his westcoat made dirty with blood. In the bylina, this motif is completely lost; as a consequence, the act of the oak-tree splitting receives the evidently secondary motivation of the hero's force test. However, it would not be correct to claim that the motif of the waters imprisoned in the oak-tree does not occur on the East Slavic ground at all; in a fairy-tale recorded on the periphery of the old Russian territory (in the former province of Samara) we find an indeed precious (obviously the only) evidence of what the bylina has not preserved: "Во дворе же был царском превеличащий каракульский дуб; в этом дубу сохранялася

живая и мертвая вода. Она сохранялася, никому не открывалася" (Skazki 1988: 1 419) 'There was a very big knarred oak-tree in the tsar's court-yard; in this oak, the alive and dead water used to be kept. It used to be kept, used not to open itself to anybody'.

Then, the murdered tsarevich's wife asks the oak-tree for the water in vain; only the common prayer of three sisters leads to success; thus, the method of water obtaining is already ritualized here and has nothing in common with the brutal violence of the principal myth's personage. The echo of the motif of the waters release in spite of the guarding snake's will is heard in the angry words of the virgin Sineglazka: "Мне не то жалко, что коня напоил, а то дорого, что колодцика не прикрыл!" (Skazki Belozerskogo kraia 1981: 270) 'I grudge not [your] watering your horse but leaving the well uncovered!' As seen in the facts adduced, the bylina "Dobrynya and Nastas'ya" is the most complete, the only coherent (although to a marked degree degraded) account of the final episode of the principal myth in the Russian sources.

On the other hand, this episode in the bylina is strongly influenced by the Caucasian (especially Ossetic) Nart epic: like Dobrynya, the main character of this epic Soslan meets a giant maiden who puts him together with his horse inside her shirt and then on her palm (Narty 1989: 94), cf. Nastas'ya's threat to put Dobrynya on her palm and flatten him out like a pancake if she dislikes him). Therefore, we must distinguish the original and borrowed layers in the images of the two bylina's main personages (further explanations see below). Caucasian origin of this plot and of the image of a giant virgin has been supposed by Khalansky (1885: 31–33) on the basis of comparison with the other story (of Alaugan and Emegen).

In all the variants, the word *dub* 'oak(-tree)' is accompanied by the constant folkloric epithet *syroi* 'moist, moist'. T.V. Toporova (2011: 59–60) tried to explain the formula *syroi dub* as a masculine counterpart of another traditional expression of folk poetry – *mat' syra zemlya* 'moist mother earth'; in the author's opinion, this contrasting manifests the universal cosmogonic opposition "sky – earth". However, the comparative material testifies that the usage of this epithet with reference to oak-tree and, consequently, the rapprochement of oak-tree and earth within the constant expressions in which they are mentioned has a secondary, later character and is a result of enantiosemy (probably made easier by influence of the formula *mat' syra zemlya* mentioned above): in the corresponding Baltic and Bulgarian texts, the (oak-)tree is called to be *dry* ("заключила дванайсе извори стред гората в едно суво дърво"; "Sper, Pērkoni, sausu koku, Ķīlè zaļu ozoliņu", № 33716-0 (Dainu skapis), which conforms both to natural properties of this tree and its mythological connection with the concept of drought (the imprisoned waters). Neither there is any correlation between oak-tree and earth in these examples. Not only the attributive 'dry' but the whole oak-tree descriptions (dry but green (with the green top) are identical in the Lettish and Bulgarian songs (unlike its quite different characterization in the bylinas), which clearly indicates that these

descriptions originate from a common archetype. The artificial character of Toporova's construction also becomes obvious if one takes into consideration the deep semantics of the image of oak-tree: the image of the world tree (all the scholars agree that the (oak-)tree of the principal myth is a representation of the latter) embodies the three-part conception of the universe (see Toporov 1994: 399n) but does not correspond to one of its levels only.

THE MAIN PERSONAGES OF THE BYLINA AND THEIR GENESIS

NASTAS'YA MIKULICHNA

The images of the main characters of the bylina "Dobrynya and Nastas'ya" are also very important for understanding its mythological basis. Besides their features which have been noted by the researchers, we can distinguish a number of those remaining overlooked so far. We shall focus on them. W. Wollner (1879: 66) was the first who paid attention to the similarity of the descriptions concerning Nastas'ya Mikulichna and Sviatogor; this observation was repeated in later works many times. However, O.F. Miller (1869: 438) earlier compared Nastas'ya with the image which should be recognized as a necessary intermediate link connecting these two characters. It is about the bylina "Il'ya Muromets and Sviatogor" (Markov 1901: 307–310; Korguev 1939: 221–222; Byliny Pechory 1961: 212), where an unnamed Sviatogor's wife also endowed by the Herculean force, which she obtained with the remains of her husband's drinking, plays an important role in the plot development. Thus, the metonymical transfer of Sviatogor's bogatyr' properties to this image is reflected even on the plot level. A number of motives identical with those by which the relations between Nastas'ya and Dobrynya are characterized are indeed connected with this figure. Besides the parallels mentioned by Miller (Sviatogor's wife puts Il'ya (as well as Nastas'ya puts Dobrynya) into her kit-bag or directly into Sviatogor's pocket; Sviatogor's horse refuses to carry two mighty bogatyr's at the same time), we can also adduce a love connection arisen between her and Il'ya (for this reason, Sviatogor later kills his wife in some variants), a spatial arrangement of the characters relative to one another (in the Pechora variant, Sviatogor's wife sees Il'ya sitting on an oak-tree in her looking-glass, i.e. Il'ya is behind her as well as Dobrynya with reference to Nastas'ya at the moment of his attack: "А назад тут поляница не оглянется" (Gil'ferding 1873: 37) 'But the polianitsa does not look back'. The archaic character of this plot is doubtless: as said above, Putilov attributes this bylina to only three of them which have preserved mythological plots in their pure form.

In the variant of this bylina recorded in the White Sea region Sviatogor carries his wife in a box of crystal which he unlocks with a golden key (Markov 1901: 307–310). One can hardly doubt of close genetic connections between this box and a transparent coffin (of glass, sometimes of gold or of silver; in the Russian fairy-tales, usually of crystal too) known in fairy-tales, into which a dead

princess is put. In the Aarne-Thompson classification system, this plot is registered under the number 709; in West European tradition, it is known as a tale of Snow White; among the East Slavs, – as "The wonderful looking-glass" or "The dead tsarevna" (Aarne 1910: 24; Andreyev 1929: 50; Thompson 1961: 245; Sravnitel'nyi… 1979: 179). In this regard, one ought also to mention the mountain of crystal from the Russian fairy-tale of the same name, from which a character releases a tsarevna imprisoned there. This detail indicates the connection of the image of Sviatogor's wife with the underworld.

This box is named by the word *raets* ("На плечах-то он ведь держит хрустальный-от раец-от" (Markov 1901: 307) 'He holds a raets of crystal on his shoulders') known in this record only; its meaning is considered to be unclear (see SRNG 1965–: 33 251). In our opinion, this word is a diachronic word-formative doublet (of the same type as *gorodĭcĭ* : *gorodŭkŭ*) of the word *raek* (*раёк*) 'box with moving pictures which are looked at through the thick glass (Dal' 1994: III 1468); kind of a puppet theatre; gallery (in a theatre)', which is a diminutive form of *rai* 'paradise' (see Fasmer 1996: III 432). In the variant written down on the Pechora, there is a word *iashchik* 'box' instead of *raets* (Byliny Pechory 1961: 212).

It is impossible to treat the image of Nastas'ya Mikulichna (Mikulishna) separately from the close images of other bogatyr' virgins in the Russian fairy-tales and bylinas (Mar'ia Morevna, Uson'sha-bogatyr'sha, Sineglazka, (Z)latygorka (Latyngorka), Belaia lebed' 'the White swan' Zakharievna, an unnamed Il'ya Muromets' daughter), in the South Slavic epic of Prince Marko (the vilas (as seen above), Arvatka (or Dzhidovka) (about the latter, see Putilov 1971: 88–90; we do not discuss here its further connections like the Amazons often mentioned in this regard and the bogatyr' virgin of the Nart epic we have adduced yet; these (and other) parallels clearly show that the image of a warrior maiden belongs not only to the Slavic mythology; at the same time, its frequency and a variety of its representations in the latter do it impossible to deny its original, not a borrowed (basically) character on the Slavic ground). Some of these images allow tracing motives of the principal myth which have not been preserved in the bylinas of Nastas'ya.

Thus, the snaky origin of the image of Vida samovila is reminded of by her using snakes as a bridle and a lash for a deer: "Го зачула Вида самовила, та фатила един сури елен, ем фатила до три люти змии; двете, змии удзи му ги кладе, а едната камшик я направи" (BNT 1961: IV 158). The vilas (samovilas, samodivas) in Serbian folklore are traced to the chthonic image of a snake (as his female counterpart) as well, cf. especially the following verses of a song from East Serbia: "Самодиви, самовили, И ви 'е лоши 'уди, И ви 'е бели русалин, Сиви шарени зме'ове!" (Petrović 1999: 71–72) 'Samodivas, samovilas, You are malicious creatures, You are white rusalkas, Grey motley snakes!'

The name of Uson'sha-bogatyr'sha corresponds with the name of the fairy bogatyr' Usynia (the rapprochement with *son* 'sleep, dream', *usnut'* 'fall asleep' (cf. Rus. dial. *sonsha* (Tver), *son'sha* (Novgorod, Pskov) 'who sleeps much' (Dal'

1994: IV 387), due to folk etymology, probably took place here because, according to the plot of this fairy-tale, a personage catches Uson'sha sleeping), in whose image we can see distinct snaky features: in one tale, he acts as "the bird Usynia – the twelve-headed snake" (Velikorusskie… 1964: 60), cf.: "Usynia is comparable with the image of a dragon or of a snake damming up the waters with his shoulders" (Ivanov & Toporov 1990: 159). In doing so, an echo of the identification of the hero's (the Thunderer's) rival and the oak-tree (analogous to what we have seen in the Lettish dainas) is perceptible in the image of Usynia: "Он [Усыня], как дуб, упал на землю, умер" (Velikorusskie… 1964: 60) 'He [Usynia], as an oak, fell on the ground, died'. It is significant that both these fairy-tales (of Uson'sha-bogatyr'sha and of Usynia) have been recorded in the same populated area – the village Mishino in the former province of Ryazan and are not known in other places.

The snake is located near the roots of the world tree (see Toporov 1994: 400). In this context, such a detail as trees growing under Uson'sha's armpits is extraordinarily expressive: "В третью комнату входит, там спит сама Усоньша-богатырка. И у ней, когда она почивает, из косточки в косточку мозжечок переливается, под мышками дерева с яблоками цветут" (Velikorusskie… 1964: 56) '[He] enters the third room, Uson'sha-bogatyr'sha herself is sleeping there. And when she is sleeping, her cerebellum is spilling from one bone to another, trees with apples are blooming under her armpits'.

Usynia is also connected with an apple-tree to which he comes flying and digs its roots up (Ibidem: 59).

The virgin (Z)latygorka (the bylina "Il'ya Muromets and Sokol'nik") lives near the stone Alatyr' – an image isofunctional with the world tree. Nastas'ya herself is also located near (and even on) Alatyr' in a bylina where Dobrynya Nikitich is replaced by Dunai Ivanovich and Alatyr' is called "kruzhalo bogatyr'skoie" 'bogatyr's meeting place': the hero sees her coming down from its southern side (Kriukova 1939: 443). The image of Il'ya Muromets' daughter refers to the image of the world tree even closer because this association is expressed in her appearance: she carries a nightingale on her right and a lark – on her left hand (Il'ya Muromets 1958: 209), cf. the connection of birds with the vyrii (a name for the paradise and for the world tree, on which birds sit) in East Slavic tradition (see Ivanov & Toporov 1994: 348, 254). The appearance of this heroine has more in common with a tree covered with foliage than with a human being: "У ней шапочка надета на головушку А й пушистая сама завесиста, Спереду-то не видать личка румяного И сзаду не видеть шеи белоей" (Il'ya Muromets 1958: 207–208) 'She wears a hat on her head, And this fluffy one is strongly covering, In front of her her rosy face is not seen, And behind one cannot see her white neck'.

This facelessness is a clear rudiment of the earlier pre-anthropomorphic stage of the development of this image. The motif of the lack of a face (on the next stage of anthropomorphization) can be also attributed to Nastas'ya (in the rare variant

with Dunai cited above): "Поляниця-то ездит в маски, Надета на лицё, подведена, Будто старым-то она старая, Будто древняя она старуха-то" 'The polianitsa goes in a mask Put on her face, imitating As if she is very old, As if she is a very old woman' (Kriukova 1939: 445). In the final, Il'ya Muromets cuts his daughter's body to pieces; this direct analogy with the oak-tree splitting episode makes us recall the isofunctionality of the thunderer's rival with the oak-tree, which we have seen above. The equivalency of the symbols of the world tree and of a woman (disguised as a tree) is confirmed by different Indo-European and other traditions in particular the Balkan rites (see Ivanov & Toporov 1974: 36).

The relation of the image of a warrior maiden to the underworld, the world of death is also indicated by the name Mar'ia Morevna which comes from a form close to Slk. *Ma(r)muriena*, a variant of the name of the Slavic goddess of death and winter, more often known under the names *Mara*, *Mora*, *Marena*, *Morena*, *Marzana*, and others (about the latter, see Ivanov & Toporov 1994: 111), in our opinion.

In the word *поляница*: *поленица* (*polianitsa*: *polenitsa*), by which Nastas'ya and the other bogatyr's (both male and female, individually and collectively) are constantly named and which probably substituted the older formation *полянинъ* (*polianinŭ*) (cf. Belaia Polianitsa and Belyi Polianin in fairy-tales), one can suppose the reflection of the original opposition after the geographical location of the bogatyr's belonging to the younger generation with reference to Sviatogor (*pol'e* 'field': *gora* 'mountain'; it is one of the basic oppositions characterizing the Russian (Slavic) worldview, cf.: "field is opposed against populated area, forest, mountains, swamp, etc." (Dal' 1994: 3 646). This hypothesis is indirectly confirmed by the fact that Sviatogor is the only bogatyr' who is not called by the word *polianitsa* (except one case (see Gil'ferding 1873: 1210) in a description identical with that of Nastas'ya, which can be logically explained by its mere transfer). An analogous opposition distinctly appears (and just in the bylina of Sviatogor) in the following verses: "Под Алешей стоял туто Полешанин, Полешанин да Долгополянин" (Ibidem: 1199) 'Forester stood here under the command of Alyosha, Forester and Longfielder'. If one takes into consideration the well-known Slavic correspondence between the meanings 'mountain' and 'forest' (see Tolstoi 1969: 22n), they should be apparently considered to be identical with each other. The presence of the mythological component in the semantics of this lexeme is witnessed by Rus. dial. *polianitsa* 'according to the superstitious notion, malicious spirit living in the fields, on the ground' (Nizhny Novgorod) (SRNG 1965–: 29 57). This semantics is opposed with the positive connotations concerning mountains, high places (on the latter, see Ivanov & Toporov 1965: 98), cf. in this regard the first part of the name Sviatogor: **svęt-* 'saint'.

Thus, the close parallels to the image of Nastas'ya Mikulichna, which are representations of the same mythological image of a (giant) warrior maiden, undoubtedly confirm its connection with the underworld and, ultimately, its origin

from the image of the snake near the world tree – the rival of the Thunderstorm god; the snake, which can also be isofuntional with this tree.

DOBRYNYA NIKITICH

Features and attributes of the Thunderer appear rather clearly among the epic heroes acting in the considering texts: a Bulgarian song "Марко бие първото си либе" 'Marko beats his first love' pictures the image of a storm and of an earthquake, where Marko's club is associated with lightning or fertilizing rain (see Moroz 1996: 79): "Нито гърми, ни се земя тресе, нито вода от високо пада, нито змия у грамада свири, нито камен под бел мрамор дума. Току Марко бие първото си либе" (BFM 2009–2018); Dobrynya's approach is announced by storm-cloud, thunder, rain ("Я ведь видела да чудо чудное, Чудо чудное да диво дивное: Со восточну-ту сторонку как бы туча тучилась, Туча тучилась, как бы гром гремел, Частый мелкий дождик шел; Немного тому времени миновалося, Наехал дородный добрый молодец" (Markov 1901: 371), the riding Dobrynya lifts up smoke from the ground to the sky ("Подынул Добрынюшко курево, Ай курево Добрынюшко марево, От неба до земли, от земли до неба" (Gil'ferding 1873: 847).

However, the matter of the image of Dobrynya is not exhausted by the epic transformation of the earlier image of the Thunderstorm god (as is interpreted, in particular, by Ivanov and Toporov (1974: 170–172). V. Miller (1892) has collected a vast comparative material proving the existence of wide ties between the bylinas and the Ossetic Nart epic, Dobrynya (unlike Sviatogor and Il'ia Muromets) being presented in his work by 2–3 examples only. Meanwhile, a rather large number of expressive (often endemic) parallels connect this bylina hero with the main figure of the Nart epic Soslan (Sozyryko) who is characterized as the sun hero (see Dumezil 1976: 69–71) (it is significant that Miller (1869: 437 (a comment) gives the same definition to Dobrynya).

1. Soslan is born from a stone lying in the middle of a river (Sos-stone) (Narty 1989: 86). An obvious reminiscence of this motif is heard in the following Dobrynya's words: "хотел бы родиться катучим валучим камешком и лежать в синем мори. Лучше родила б моя матушка Серым горючим камешком, Завертела в тонко полотенышко, Ставала на гору высокую, Розмахала Добрыню – в море бросила" (Gil'ferding 1873: 160, 966) '[I] should like to be born as a rolling, falling down stone and to lay in a blue sea. My mother had better born me As a grey burning stone, Wrap me up in the thin linen, Stand on a high mountain, Swing Dobrynya – throw him into the sea'.

2. The mothers of both heroes have a great impact on their lives, acting as powerful sorceresses. Satana constantly helps Soslan with advice as well as with magic (Narty 1989: 98, 99, 112, etc.). The magic abilities of Dobrynya's mother Amel'fa Timofeyevna (sometimes, she has other names) are to a marked degree

reduced, but she also shows clairvoyance (warns her son (in the bylina "Dobrynya and the Snake") against a danger threatening to him, predicts the course of a future battle (Markov 1901: 228); her menace of using magic against the wicked witch Marinka in order to save Dobrynya from her charms immediately leads to success (the bylina "Dobrynya and Marinka") (Gil'ferding 1973: 116–117). This important role his mother plays in his life significantly differs Dobrynya from all the other bylina bogatyr's.

3. Before going to the feast Orazmag (Soslan's stepfather) puts his fur-coat on (Narty 1989: 89), and so does Dobrynya in the analogous situation ("Dobrynya and Alyosha"), with the Nart legend explaining in detail (by Satana's mouth) the reason for this action: "They want to kill you, so when they give you the first cup, pray and drink it. You will be presented with the second cup as the oldest among the Narts, there will be a poison in it, pour it out into your pipe. Put your big fur-coat on, sit down on mattresses of wool, and then all the liquid will flow down into them", while Dobrynya's action is completely unmotivated, which shows the secondary character of this motif in the bylina. The likeness of two situations is not exhausted by what is said above: Dobrynya going to his own wife's wedding has all the reasons to suppose that he will not be a desirable guest there.

4. About Soslan's meeting with the giant maiden see above. We can add to what has been said that Soslan's behavior in this situation radically differs from that of Dobrynya in which the latter's origin from the martial thunderer is evident, while the Nart is completely suppressed by his opposite's physical superiority and does not even think about resistance. This comparison allows drawing a distinct line between the original and the borrowed layers of this bylina's episode.

5. When seeking in marriage, Soslan, on his bride's demand, fires at her air tower (Narty 1989: 97). It permits to interpret Dobrynya's attack not only from the point of view of the principal myth's plot but also from that of the Alanic nuptial rites. In the Ossetic fairy-tales, we find repeated descriptions of seeking in marriage in which a fiance must show his force and boldness with reference to his bride: "I shall marry my daughter only to him who will be able to destroy her tower"; "Elia decided to try his luck again, to seek in marriage one's more. "I shall go and show myself to her one's more", he said to himself. "She will not learn me in my other appearance". He drove a dark storm-cloud, began to fire, to thunder" (Osetinskie… 1973: 103, 465).

A still closer parallel to this episode of the Nart legend, confirming that the connection of Dobrynya with this motif is not occasional, is found in the bylina "Dobrynya and Marinka": the hero's arrow hits this dangerous witch's window, kills her lover Tug-zmeyevich (Tug the Snake's son), and Marinka immediately asks Dobrynya for marring her (Gil'ferding 1873: 116, etc.).

6. Soslan and Dobrynya are also connected by the motif of their false destruction. Soslan repeatedly pretends to be dead on a battlefield, in consequence of which his relatives are informed of his death (Narty 1989: 117, 120); it strongly

reminds of the false news of Dobrynya's ruin which Alyosha Popovich delivers to his mother ("Dobrynya and Alyosha").

7. Both heroes are not strangers to fun, amusement, which is not quite usual for epic characters of this type: by his play on the wedding, Dobrynya gives a great pleasure to all the guests; Soslan is characterized in the following way: "He used to be the only glorious man among us, the only jovial who used to animate us, who used to make us forget difficult hours of life" (Narty 1989: 138).

Thus, we can state the compound character of the image of Dobrynya, in which the original mythological features of the Thunderstorm god are combined with the borrowings from East Iranian epic.

CONCLUSIONS AND PERSPECTIVES

The analysis of the plot and of the image structure of the bylina "Dobrynya and Nastas'ya", in comparison with the data of Slavic, Baltic, and Iranian folklore, allowed revealing and grounding its mythological basis, whose traces can be found on many text levels. It is characteristic that in each of the versions discussed in this article the plot of the principal myth appears in the incomplete, degraded form; only their totality makes it possible to reconstruct all its key parts and motives. This circumstance proves once again that taking into consideration all possible variants (including those in the related languages) is of significant methodological importance for the folkloric texts studies.

Another important conclusion is that epic plots and images are often formed in interaction of different cultural traditions; as a result, they cannot be attributed to only one source or prototype but contain several genetic and/or chronological layers.

Perspectives of further research are connected with the wider and more detailed comparative analysis of the bylina texts (especially in their rare, little known variants) and of a wide range of oral literature of the Indo-European peoples, among which the South Slavic, Baltic, and East Iranian material will probably play a leading role, as the results of the conducted study allow presuming.

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LAUGHTER IN AZERBAIJANI FOLKLORE: CONCEPTS OF BEHAVIOR, PSYCHOLOGICAL CONFLICTS, AND SOCIAL COMMUNICATION

SAFA GARAYEV

ABSTRACT

The importance of laughter in the cultural context is first of all linked to its social context. As a metaphor, laughter does not only provide the exchange of integrative information between members of the community. It is at the same time one of the behaviors envisaging aggressive relationships in society. This can be clearly seen by observing metaphors related to laughter in the socio-cultural environment of Azerbaijan. As we know, psychosocial complexes are rendered more metaphorically in folklore. In this regard, understanding folklore requires studying its social environment in a distorted form. To understand the essence of folk behavior and the texts related to laughter, one must pay particular attention to its meanings acquired in the social environment. Extensive research has shown that laughter jokes are accepted and perceived differently by male and female businesses; noisy laughter and much; it is also valued in different contexts. In other words, the social environment encounters these types of laughter differently. To shed light on the meaning of laughter, many facts about folklore and social relationships are involved in the research in this article.

Keywords: laughter, psycho-semantics, laughter in a male environment, aggressive laughter, *Hunter Pirim*, mystery in men, laughter in Azerbaijani folklore.

INTRODUCTION

Laughter is one of the most sensitive attitude levels of culture in the socio-psychological context. That is to say, its particularity appears in various forms in social life and in folk texts. When you approach laughter from the point of view of socio-cultural relations, it will soon be revealed that its metaphorical meaning in the social environment is broader than linguistic content. Although laughter is

characterized as the designation of concrete behavior from a terminological point of view, this definition specifies a polysemantic event in a socio-cultural context (Garayev 2016, 81). To study the polysemantic content of laughter in the communication process, its social context and its implementation in folk texts must be examined in detail (Oring and Jones 1987, 108 and Oring 2016, and Yusifli 2014, 44 and Zazykin 2007, 6).

DISCUSSION

To appreciate the social essence of laughter in Azerbaijani society, we must first refer to the joke environment linked directly to the male group. This means that the jokes in Azerbaijan are generally updated in this male environment and therefore "they encode various information on the interests and attitude towards the reality of the male collective" (Stanley 1992, 97). In a word, the jokes told in the male environment support their "ideoculture" (Fine 2005, 69 and Fine 1979, 734) as a gender group.

The jokes in the Azerbaijani environment are mainly updated in two moments:

1. They are used as a proverb (model) to justify the attitude of men towards various events and facts;

2. Men of approximately the same age group, gathered for various reasons, tell jokes for fun or laughter.

It is more frequently observed, especially in the male environment, that people use jokes as a proverb (corresponding model) to express their attitude towards various facts of life. For example, an astonishing situation is described in one of the manuals: "I remember when I was taken to the operating room, I laughed all the time. The professor asked me why I was laughing. I replied with a joke: "one day Molla Nasreddin fell seriously ill; he started laughing and joking. People were surprised. They said: "Molla, when you were always sick, you raised a clamor. You are now seriously ill, but your heart is rejoicing. How do we understand this?" Molla answered them: "When I was slightly ill, I raised clamours to attract everyone's attention and deceive the disease. Now, I am seriously ill and I see no sense in causing outcry. What does it mean to start shouting these days?" Now my situation is the same with that of Mulla and there is no other way for me than to laugh" (Yusifzade 2010, 167). As we have seen, to express emotions in a tense situation, the person uses a joke. And at the same time, a joke told in such a situation fulfills the function of easing the emotional tension that has arisen for itself (Dundes and Hauschild 1983, 249).

Telling jokes in the social environment as a saying to express your idea is probably encountered in men of the same age group or in the process of communication of elders with juniors. Although no obscenity is used in jokes told by elders to juniors, but in the process of communication between people of the

same age group, this coarse language is widely used. It should be noted that the expression of one's own idea based on jokes in the communication process is behavior of particular significance. In turn, if this factor alleviates the acute conflict that will arise by expressing the idea on the one hand, and will ensure the ego of a person hidden behind laughter, on the other hand. In a word, the laughter brought up to date through jokes told by the male group of the same age is intended to alleviate the tense situations likely to cause serious conflicts. In general, the updated communication within the male group contains dramatic tension. This tradition, which is widespread in the Azerbaijani social environment, must be brought up to date in the context of acute conflicts.

From this point of view, zoological conflicts, such as cock fighting, fighting between dogs or male camels during traditional festivals can be considered as a metaphor for conflict between men. According to Alan Dandes, the psychological basis of cockfighting can be explained as a projection of the socio-psychological conflict in the male community (Dandes 2005, 353).

LAUGHTER AND SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL COMPLEXES

Although jokes weaken the likelihood of conflict between men, they cannot eliminate them at all. Unexpected negligence can turn them into a conflict generator. To shed light on the reason for this, we would like to refer to an example. It has been observed on several occasions that when a person tries to present his unpleasant situation as positive, he is told such a joke: "One day, a poor man comes home, tells his wife that the bey talked. His wife asks: "What did the bey say to you?" The poor man says' "when I arrived in a cart, I was standing in the middle of the road. He said to me: 'Get off the road' ". As we have seen, in the concrete situation, the real event is transferred to the world of jokes. In this case, the joke turns into a metaphorical sign of reality through laughter. In such a situation, bey's humiliating conversation with the poor in the joke plot is projected into the humiliated situation of a person in reality. Therefore, while the communication process, instant neglect can cause a confused situation for the opposite side and create conflict. The conflict creating the potential for jokes used in this way was also observed by the very socio-cultural environment. It is no coincidence that the person who tells a joke in such situations uses expressions such as "joking separately" or "it is only a joke". The main objective in this case is to prevent the transfer of a conflict in a joke with a specific conflict in the social.

While studying the reciprocal relationships between the social environment and a joke in Azerbaijani society, we would like to draw your attention to a very interesting question. The use of joke texts during communication in social life does not generally occur upon the initial knowledge of the parties. Use laughter to create jokes while the communication process in the corresponding situations only occurs after the process of close knowledge. It should be noted that when people intend to

tell jokes, they must be familiar with their sensitive aspects; otherwise this can cause a tense situation between them. Therefore, laughing together is one of the key indicators of a friendship in Azerbaijani society. It is no coincidence that, to express intimacy in his relationships with anyone, men put a particular emphasis on joking with him. And the lack of intimacy in relationships with others is expressed in the form "I have no joke with him". The phraseology "having a joke with someone" concretely expresses the level of relationships between certain people aimed at laughing and having fun. This attitude allows these people to make someone laugh about the subjects considered taboo in everyday life. Namely in the circumstances created by these relationships, the jokes are more up to date.

One of the main moments to notice in Azerbaijani society is that laughter creates serious anxiety in the surrounding people; in this case, the reason for the laughter is unknown. This social complex has also been projected into folklore. Therefore, the search for meaning in an updated laugh based on an unknown reason is envisaged in Azerbaijani folklore and literature in a specific way (Garadarali 2013, 32 and Gasimova 2017, 257). To explain our idea, let's read the tale "The Skull". The problem is that one day the Padishah asks the vizier to buy a fish and cook it. The vizier cooks the fish and when they start to eat, the king also asks him if it is a male or a female. As the Padishah speaks, the fish starts laughing. Padishah is surprised: "What does that mean, Vizier? Why the fish laughs? " The vizier says: "I don't know, my Padishah". Padishah says: "I don't know, you have to find the reason" (Rustamzadeh 2012, 184). The vizier then begins to look for a man capable of understanding the secret of the fish. A child with amazing abilities explains this secret as follows: "Do you know why the fish laughs? The Padishah has a daughter with forty slaves and all of them are boys. The fish laughed at the fact that he was sad, that for his daughter, ten male slaves, who claimed to be girls, spent time with her, but without worrying about the sex of a fish" (Rustamzadeh 2012, 186). Later, to escape disgrace, the Padishah decapitated all the male slaves posing as girls with his daughter (Rustamzadeh 2012, 187). For us, the anxiety created by the laughter of the fish must be understood as a symbolic expression of the socio-psychological complex in the text of the tale.

As the story shows, the reason for the laughter of the fish is that the Padishah's daughter has a knocking time with slaves in women's clothing. It is revealed that the immoral behavior of a woman involved in the influence of any individual in the community provokes an ironic attitude towards this man. And "the laughter of the fish" in this text, while revealing the unpleasant situation relating to the daughter of Padishah based on the search for meaning in this laughter informs us about a serious snag in society with regard to laughter. In other words, men show extreme sensitivity towards laughter, the reason for which is not clear to them and seek an attitude in this phenomenon directed against them. The ironic nuance of the sense of laughter in this case arouses curiosity. This means that laughter forces men to re-examine their position in society. For example, in the

tale *An Alexander in a bird's tongue*, the stepmother orders Alexander to light a fire to wash clothes. But the stepmother does not know that Alexander speaks and understands the language of the birds. Meanwhile, Alexander saw a pair of doves talking to each other: As Alexander understood the bird's language, he laughed. "I will be Padishah and my stepmother will pour water into my hand". When he laughed, his stepmother became confused, as if he was making fun of her. She took the fire iron and hit his back. She did not feel sorry for him because she was a stepmother. She said: "are you kidding me? At your mother's house? You're making fun of me today and tomorrow you're going to play a trick on me. Let your father come, I will tell him and I will leave this house" (Rustamzadeh 2012, 173). As we have seen, the laugh of the hero of the tale causes serious anxiety in his mother. And she begins to look for additional information in this laugh. Looking for the reason for the laughter, the stepmother doubts that her private places may have appeared and that is why her adopted son laughed. In a word, the unknown laughter forces the stepmother to look for a variety of faults in her clothes. Even, the mysterious and useless laughter of the hero of the tale forces the stepmother to think about the sexual assault of her step son (this version in the text appeared as "to play a trick").

The anxiety caused by laughter that occurred for reasons unknown to those around them is an integral part of real life, which is expressed metaphorically in folklore. One of these tales is *Hunter Pirim*. One day, the Hunter Pirim saw a white and black snake kissing. The Hunter Pirim is sorry for the white snake and as he is jealous of the black snake, when he was intended to kill the latter with an arrow, he wounds the white snake by mistake. And King Padishah invites Hunter Pirim to his place. On the road, Hunter Pirim describes the sight that he saw of the snake taking him to the Padishah of snakes. This snake told Hunter Pirim that "if the Padishah of snakes is aware that it has affected your honor, he will forgive you immediately" (Seyidov 2005, 6). Really when he narrated the event for the Padishah of snakes, the Padishah showing sensitivity to the question of honor decided to attribute it. At the request of Hunter Pirim, the Padishah of snakes gives him a ring allowing him to understand the language of all animals and to have everything he wants (Seyidov 2005, 8). One day, Hunter Pirim hears the conversations between horses and he laughs. His wife saw him laugh and asked "Why are you laughing?" (Seyidov 2005, 13). For a while he wanted to reveal the secret, but one of the snakes, standing on his tail on the road, remembered that if he revealed the secret, he would die immediately. When Hunter Pirim returned home with his wife, he encountered an event. In a courtyard, the rooster calls the hen. When the hen opposes her request, the rooster said: "It doesn't matter to me, I will invite another hen. You know, I'm not the Hunter Pirim to implore the woman". (Seyidov 2005, 14). At that moment, Hunter Pirim who understands the rooster asked him how to force the woman to change her mind. In response to this question, the rooster said that when you are at home, you will beat her and then tell her to leave the house

(Seyidov 2005, 14). Really, Hunter Pirim beats his wife, takes her out of the house and in the end, the woman promises that she will not ask him anything. But in a few minutes, she forces him to reveal the secret of laughter. Hunter Pirim reveals the secret and tells it to his wife and at this moment the wolves tear it up and eat it (Seyidov 2005, 15). To reveal the psycho-semantics of laughter in this tale, you must draw your attention to another version. In this version, when the Hunter Pirim asks the Padishah for snakes to spit on his mouth, he responds to the Hunter Pirim: "you can't keep it secret". The Hunter Pirim says: "I won't disclose it to anyone. The Padishah repeats itself three times, but is not satisfied with it. At the end, the Padishah spits on his mouth. When he leaves the house, he sees that he understands the language of locusts, birds and ants" (Rustamzadeh 2006, 240). In this version, the wife forces the Hunter Pirim to reveal the secret. Hunter Pirim asks his wife to call the mullah. When his wife goes to call the mullah, Pirim encounters an event: "A rooster runs behind the hen. He is unable to reach him and catches another hen. Even if it's shameful, I'm sorry, he copulates with this hen. And then said: I am not a hunter-like husband as a Hunter Pirim. There is no difference for me on which hen I will climb" (Rustamzadeh 2006, 241) After these words of rooster, Hunter Pirim divorces his wife.

To define the relation between laughter and the level of various psychosocial relationships in the community, we consider it useful to take this fact into account in a whole context of the plot.

As you know, Hunter Pirim is presented in the tale as a person sensitive to questions of honor. Hunter Pirim suddenly became angry when he saw the raped white snake, which is why he is trying to kill the male snake. But although he mistakenly hurts the white snake, daughter of the Padishah of snakes, the latter has decided to reward him. As specified in the story, the main reason for rewarding the Hunter Pirim is related to his attitude towards the question of honor. In fact, attaching importance to the question of honor by the Snake Padishah is linked to the importance of the male community. Thus, in Azerbaijani society, women are considered the honor of men and to avoid being the target of reproaches in this community, men seriously control the behavior of women in their environment. This sensible attitude towards the question of honor has a profound influence on the creativity of the heroes of society. The sensitivity of the Azerbaijani man to the question of honor was also transformed into a hero of the take. Although his daughter was injured, the Snake Padishah decided to reward Hunter Pirim because of his concern for his honor. As you know, the other psychological complex of the male social environment was reflected in this situation: attentively observing the question of honor in society is revealed in this case as the necessary condition to gain honor between men. This psychological complex existing in society calls for implementing the wishes of Hunter Pirim by the Padishah of snakes, because, in this situation, the Hunter Pirim and the Padishah of snakes share the sensitivity of the same psychological and social environment in matters of honor. The Padishah

of snakes, being influenced by the psycho-social complex of society linked to the sensitive attitude towards the question of honor, contrary to his will, accepts to spit on the mouth of *Hunter Pirim*, which allows him to understand all the secrets of nature.

As the tale proves, spitting on the mouth of the Hunter Pirim, the Padishah of snakes hesitates to provide him with all the secrets of nature. In reality, this hesitation is a metaphor for psychological anxiety to be kept secret in the male environment. Despite the fact that Padishah of the snakes told him repeatedly that he would not be able to keep it secret, the Hunter Pirim persists in this case. In this case, "the pin" is a symbol of keeping a secret. Thus, you may encounter a lot of symbolic equivalence of a word / secret and a saliva in society referring to other facts. For example, it is recognized that sometimes different people express their idea of any problem in the same way and in this case, we use the language "when they spit in the mouth". The expression "spit in someone's mouth" means to share the same secret, to have the same idea of something. In addition, there is another expression specifying "a man who will not go back on his promise" with the direction of keeping his promise in the community. In this case, the act of spitting appeared as a metaphor for saying. There is also the expression "he is not clever enough to keep words in his mouth" used among people about the person who is unable to keep secret. In this sense, in the tale *Hunter Pirim* "the semantics of letting him enter a secret by the king of snakes sitting in his mouth is found here more clearly. This means that by the action of sitting with the same semantics in comparison with a word, the Hunter Pirim is left in the secret of nature by the king of snakes. During the transfer of this mystery, the anxiety born of its maintenance is indeed the psychosocial anxiety of the male environment linked to secrecy. It is no coincidence that the person who is unable to keep a secret uses an insulting expression "henpecked". It should be noted that the other aspect of the socio-psychological complex of men was expressed in this tale: Hunter Pirim faces a risk of disclosing the secret, namely when he remains in contact with his wife. The woman uses many methods to obtain the secret from her husband Hunter. At the moment, men leaving their wives in secret are characterized from the episode "hen and rooster". As he saw in the plot mentioned above, the rooster, without taking into account the hen taken to him, demonstrates his phallic power compared to another chicken. When his leg-over relationship with a hen is over, the rooster expresses the mockery of the male community by saying: "Remember well, I am not the Pirim for you". The expression of the mockery and irony of the male group against the Hunter Pirim in the context of the demonstration of the phallic power of the rooster to the chicken finds its origin in the traditional culture of the perception of the deprivation of masculinity in the cases where men let women enter their secret from the point of view of socio-cultural conditions. In a word, "keeping the secret" is seen in culture as one of the basic metaphors of masculinity in the community, as having phallic power, capable of protecting one's honor, etc. In the cultural environment, which is based on the opinion of the male community, the

fact that women cannot keep secrets is associated even with their biological deficiency. Among the people there is a saying that "a woman cannot keep secret that she has no esophagus". In the opinion of the male community, it is understood that as if the women had no esophagus and that their inability to keep secret was strictly linked to this fact. The future of men leaving their wives in secret is also reflected in many folk texts. In a text "do not leave the woman in your secret", one of the words sold by Bahlul Danende, one of the heroes of the East is the following: "The man who opens his mystery to his wife is miserable" (Rustamzadeh and Farhadov, 332). And in the text: "Do not count on the shah and do not open your mystery to your wife", the same hero of the joke expresses the meaning of the word he sold: "The man who leaves his wife in his secret is miserable" (Rustamzadeh 2012, 338). In fact, as folk texts show, the male community explains its obligations before society (Tiger 1984, 130). The challenges posed by men in the community prohibiting letting women enter their mystery is not an approach reflected only in folk texts. Even social life also contains more challenges of this type which play an important role in the formation of relationships between men.

Now let's pay attention to the issue of laughter in the text of the fairy tale mentioned above. As shown in the story plot mentioned above, a man's laughter in front of the woman creates fertile conditions to reveal the mystery among women considered important to the male community. That is to say, the irrelevant laughter of a man in front of a woman means that the transfer of a secret is kept among the male community. There is an expression, notably from this approach in the male community: "A man who laughs in front of a woman will laugh only once in his life" (Azarlu 1994, 17). In the Azerbaijani community, there is such an expression: "The real man is not very laughable and he does not cry as a rule" (Ali 2008). Not only in the metaphorical world of folklore, but also in the facts of ethnographic life, respected people are generally described as dark and unsociable people. Even then, such insulting expressions are used about men who laugh more like "laughing like a wife" or "whitening teeth like a cat". In a word, laughter is perceived in this community as a behavior that relaxes the severe position of men and causes damage to their masculinity. On the other hand, in Azerbaijani society, the burst of laughter from women is not considered positive behavior. But in the cultural context, the negative attitude towards the laughter of men and women is distinguished from each other by their psycho-semantic point of view: if the burst of laughter of women is linked to the danger of transmitting the message sexually attractive to people around, to men – this laughter is linked to damage to their masculinity. In this sense, the laughter of Hunter Pirim is also a behavior causing damage to masculinity which is characterized by the transfer of secrecy from the male community to women. Thus, Hunter Pirim violating the ban on laughter being considered important for men violates the condition of keeping the mysteries secret. From this point of view, laughter is one of the behaviors determining the boundaries of masculinity in society. In this case, laughter (laughter from *Hunter*

Pirim), as expressed by some specialists, does not personify the semantics of ancient mythical and magical behaviors, on the contrary, it is perceived as stereotypes linked to the damage caused by laughter with male rigor in society.

LAUGHTER AND SOCIAL COMMUNICATION

One of the psycho-cultural reasons for the tension of male participants in an enterprise composed mainly of women is linked to the fact that the ego expresses itself more seriously and in the self-defense regime with women. Any harsh and insulting word addressed to a man in the male business and, if he is joined by women, can provoke very different emotional reactions in Azerbaijani society. Although a harsh word said alone causes an emotional reaction with less tension, in the male environment, especially in communities reached by women, a harsh word said to a man in the event that women join can cause a fairly severe emotional reaction. The cultural environment always maintains a feminine image in itself in the context of severe conditions for the validation of masculinity. It is no coincidence that when Salim, the Ottoman Sultan, attacked the Safawi State in 1514, saw the battlefield empty, he wrote a letter to Shah Ismail Khatai to incite him to battle: "For the glorious sultans and the mighty khagans, the country is like their wife and whoever has a little personality, a little courage will not tolerate the aggression of another person. Nevertheless, for several days, my brave soldiers have entered your country, but there is no sign of you, you are hiding so that I do not know about your existence" (Vilayeti 1998, 151). It stems from the attitude of men towards women as a way of recognizing themselves in the Azerbaijani community. The ego of masculinity reacts against the external influences of close women in self-defense and in the male environment in attack. In this sense, feeling more at ease in a place where there are no women, that is to say in male companies, is indeed the act of self-defense of men. By this method, the ego of masculinity goes to a different regime of self-expression. The transition to the environment of vulnerable expressions, aggressive attitudes and open and secret fights for a job takes place at the same time as the holding of female company. In addition to the funeral ceremonies, you can regularly encounter real and symbolic conflicts in the male companies grouped together as a result of the exit of the female enterprise in Azerbaijani society. This conflict can go as far as physical confrontations, alongside symbolic conflicts, such as the competition of two ashugs, cockfighting, etc. Even there is such a joke that "A man whose marriage passes without a fight is not a man" or "A marriage which passes without a quarrel is not a marriage". In a nutshell, fighting for position, protecting oneself against any attack that can occur at any time and counter-attacking at the right time is a major model of psychocultural behavior on the team. Telling anecdotes in an environment predominant by the contentious psychocultural attitude and laughing in this environment with all the participants is an event with particular semantics.

Organize a joke society in a state predominated by tense and contentious conflict psychology in a male environment united all together for various reasons (the conflict mentioned comes from behavioral stereotypes determined by the culture of the ego of individuals rather than by the personal hostility) can be understood as the "renunciation agreement" of the aggressive attitude of this environment directed towards each other from the psychosemantic point of view. In this case, the lexicon of male company adjusted to pleasant laughter is modified and the descriptions are directed to events outside of cultural norms. In the anecdotes told in the male group to laugh, all the participants are gathered around the same interest and a particular attention is paid to the jokes. Without going into a series of anecdotes, we can recognize that the subject of anecdotes told in this environment is linked to women cheating on their husbands, to men confronted with sexual weakness near women, to parents not establishing correct relationships with their children, to men in a state of shame in the community of light-headed women and so on. As the researchers noted, these anecdotes describe stereotypes of the male environment on women (Bronner 2005, 29). Laughing at the collective in the environment in which these anecdotes are discussed means a message to the collective that "the problem is not related to me". In this sense, collective laughter is a behavioral act confirming the collective psychological complex. In such an environment, the common denominator of psychological complexes and interests of the male environment is revealed. In other words, laughing with a group means complicity with psychosocial complexes.

While telling jokes in the men's business in order to have time, all participants have the opportunity to tell a joke. Following the observation of the process of telling jokes in a male company, we can come to the conclusion that telling a joke in this company is associative in nature. In other words, each joke told in this environment recalls other jokes with similar content. Although each participant who laughs with the group at a joke reacts the same way with the group, they do not try to tell a joke. He explains it by the fact that he does not have the capacity to tell jokes. In this situation, avoiding anyone telling the joke whose plot is already known to them, provides us with unusual information about the nature of the environment mentioned. Such a question arises: why do some people who know very well the object of a joke refuse to tell it in an environment, explaining it by the absence of its capacity to tell jokes?

The character of a joke environment is that this environment is transformed into a business that has become sensitive in a laughing context, looking for a reason to laugh. If a joke does not fit the environment and ultimately does not meet the business needs for laughter, the joke storyteller can become the target of that laughter. Typically, the failure of the expected community reaction results in disappointment from the joke storyteller. Consequently, the person thinking that he does not have the capacity to tell anecdotes joins this environment with his own laughter, but opposes the status of storyteller, which obliges him to have artistic skills. This fact proves once again that the male group is dominated mainly by the acute dramatic psychological effect. In this sense, the male group's "joke

company" is a media of the psycho-cultural conflict disguised by choosing to laugh with the group. Failure to satisfy the laughing interests of such a group by telling a text can expose the cashier himself to laughing. To avoid such a severe attitude, the participant declaring himself incapable of telling anecdotes, refuses to tell a joke that he knows very well. As the researchers have pointed out, telling a joke allows the cashier to reveal his intelligence in an obvious way, to prove his skills and to have fun with sufficient hearing. If the joke he told is not ridiculous, he runs the risk of being in a confused situation (Leveen 1996, 31). In this sense, the anecdote narrator is a person who deposits his ego investment for the success of the anecdote (Prange and Vitols 1990, 629). But, sometimes, the male business responds to a joke that does not cause laughter with a conditional smile. The main reason here is to save the storyteller from disappointment. This probability, that is to say the confused situation of the joke storyteller and the need to deliver disappointment confirms once again the availability of the acute dramatic effect in male company.

CONCLUSION

The conclusions drawn from research on laughter as a collective image and behavior in the Azerbaijani community can be summarized as follows:

1. Culture contains many sayings and concepts related to laughter; the analysis of these facts proves that "laughter" taken in the context of social contacts is a definition delimiting aggressive and expulsive behavior, but not only "positive relationships". To avoid such a collective attitude, individuals are obliged to always harmonize their behavior with traditions. In a word, ironic laughter is one of the cultural powers that guarantee the sustainability of culture.

2. One of the psycho-cultural complexes widely observed in Azerbaijani society is the process of "searching for meaning" in laughter performed by the unknown reason of the surrounding people within the community as an ethnographic fact. The search for meaning in this type of laughter also remained deep traces in Azerbaijani folklore. In a word, laughing together with the community in society and laughing only in the community represent the different socio-psychological complexes. It should be noted once again that laughing only in the collective stimulates both the inferiority complex in the culture and the laughter caused by reasons unknown to the collective forces those around to seek various shortages.

3. Laughing loudly and laughing at men correspondingly by women and men in the Azerbaijani community are considered anti-moral behavior. Research has shown that the non-acceptance of a woman's laughter in the cultural context is associated with a sexually attractive message given by this laughter to the male environment; and much laughter comes from a perception of behavior that harms the severity of masculinity.

4. Laughing together in the male enterprise of joke texts from Azerbaijani society is seen as behavior allowing socialization.

5. Telling anecdotes by women when they are gathered is not characteristic of the Azerbaijani community. We can widely encounter the violation of ethical, moral,

religious and other serious principles typical of culture in jokes told in male society among participants of the same age. As he has seen from research, despite the absence of collisions in the "joke society" of male participants from situational and individual relationships, the principles established by the collective gender for male society cause the appearance of hidden conflicts in this society in an original way.

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PSYCHOANALYTIC APPROACH TO THE CHARACTER OF MULLAH NASREDDIN

HIKMAT GULIYEV

SUMMARY

This article deals with a psychoanalytic-contextual analysis of the Mullah Nasreddin, wide-spread in Turkic, non-Turkic, Muslim, as well as non-Muslim cultural environment. To analyze the origin of Mullah Nasreddin character's laughing behaviors in jokes, its comic and ironic characteristics, the ideas and imagination contained in legends and versions about this personage have been involved to the research in this paper. Descriptions representing Mullah Nasreddin as a target of laughter, as well as texts related to his unusual birth were approached in this article in the psychoanalytical context, as a result of which there was revealed that the laughter determining the origin of Mullah Nasreddin, demonstrating comic and humorous behavior in the anecdotes is conceived as "punishment of the committed sin" in the texts of legends and sayings. And it necessitates approaching the laughter as "punishment of the committed sin". To understand the essence of Mullah Nasreddin personage in the culture, the sayings and beliefs well-spread among the people and the facts related to his unusual birth were estimated in the capacity of analysis of contradictions and paradoxes in his behavior.

Keywords: Mullah Nasreddin, psychoanalytical context, phallic opposition, laughter.

INTRODUCTION

There are numerous researches all over the world in connection with Mullah Nasreddin jokes. Most of these contributions analyzed the essence of Mullah Nasreddin character[1] and Mullah Nasreddin irony in connection with comic or humorous features. In this paper, the main goal is to approach the laughter origin in

[1] The character Nasreddin, identified in the folkloric texts of several peoples of the world, is known by various names, such as hoja, khoja, mullah, effendi, apandi etc. This character is famous among the Azerbaijani Turkic people as "Mullah Nasreddin" (or Molla Nasreddin). In this article we have referred namely to this designation.

Mullah Nasreddin character (who was portrayed in jokes sometimes as madman, sometimes as clever, sometimes as a fool) from a comprehensive psychoanalytical standpoint.

THE PSYCHOANALYTIC PERSPECTIVES OF MULLAH NASREDDIN JOKES

Studying of Mullah Nasreddin jokes, spread out at the intersection of different cultural environment and re-created under the influence of the socio-psychological complexes and stereotypes of each culture in psychoanalytical context is very important.

As it proved from analysis of Mullah Nasreddin's anecdotes, Mullah Nasreddin stands against all norms and principles, taboos and prohibitions, sacred and inviolable values of the sacral or profane reality. As a result, it is at variance with social reality. In fact, the laughter in anecdotes is realized through mockery of dictates and imperatives, concepts and doctrines of sacral semantic to be observed without reservation. From the psycho-semantic standpoint, confrontation of Mullah Nasreddin with the God, Angel of Death, ruler and city governor, with dervish, Seyid, his wife and son serve factually to undermine and destroy the authoritarianism, fundamental concepts and ideologies, norms and principles. To explain the semantics through which the most unusual, most inviolable, most sacred, most important, most valuable, most unlikely events became the target of mockery, it is necessary to study these texts in the psychoanalytical context. Because, "nothing is so sacred, so taboo, or so disgusting that it cannot be subject of humor. Quite the contrary – it is precisely those culturally defined as sacred, taboo, or disgusting, that often more than never give the principal grist for humor mills" (Alan Dundes and Thomas Hauschild, 1983: 249). It should be taken into account that the problems drawn to the center of attention through funny behaviors in Mullah Nasreddin's jokes are norms and principles, possessing sacred value in the culture and considered inviolable.

LAUGHTER AS A PENALTY FOR SIN

One of the most crucial moments to analyze the Mullah Nasreddin jokes' psychosemantics is to study the system of conceptions and folk-beliefs in the related tradition. It is no accident that alongside with anecdotes there are various expressions, folk-beliefs, narrations and legends about Mullah Nasreddin. We are of the opinion that to grasp quickly the psychosemantic essence of these anecdotes we have to analyze first of all the "serious" appearance of this personage in beliefs and sayings.

He was such a funny man: "Bashina donmek"[2]. He is a good man, and you cannot use bad language about him" (Vagifgizi, 2013: 272). "Mollanin Allah evin

[2] "Bashina donmek" – idiom of Azerbaijani people, means to sacrifice oneself to somebody, take care of somebody or rotating around somebody to prevent his pain.

yikhsin" – "God make mullah unhappy, destroy his house. When his name has been called you should say, *God bless him*. Otherwise, you need to tell seven anecdotes. If no, he would come at night to your wife" (Vagifgizi, 2014: 306). And according to the folk-belief in our various regions, *you must bless* when you name Mullah Nasreddin.

These popular beliefs ("bashina donduyum – to sacrifice oneself to someone", "Not to use bad languages about him" "God bless him" and "Salavat") prove once again that Mullah Nasreddin personage embodies the sacral-mystical characteristics in the traditions. About all signs pertaining to the persons considered sacred in the Muslim religion are virtually pertinent to him also. It should be noted that these idioms, prohibition and ceremonies are performed or executed in tradition in connection with religious subjects and saints (Seyid, Imam, Prophets), as well as the sacred objects (ocaq, i.e. holy place, pir, i.e. sacred place and sepulcher). Thus, either the necessity to use the epithet "May Allah have mercy on him!" when you name him in the process of conversation, or prohibition to use bad language and necessity to recite seven anecdotes when you forget to say "May Allah have mercy on him!" is a sign of the sacral semantics of this character. We are certain of the fact that the different epithets used about Mullah Nasreddin image in different Turkic nations (mullah, efendi, hoja, khoja, late, etc.) should be understood as a sign of the sacral semantics. Numerous epithets of religious and mystical nature, as well as those meaning respect in the socio-cultural environment reveal in fact the contradictions in the nature of this character. It means that the epithets used in front of Mullah Nasreddin's name (mullah, hoja) are a sign connecting wisdom and tricky behavior all together. The comparative study of beliefs and anecdotes reveals clearly the contradiction in the essence of this character. Behaviors of Mullah Nasreddin bearing the status as "mullah", "hoja", "khoja" and "efendi" are in the opposite pole of these epithets. As Mullah, hoja and effendi are outside the ironic essence of this image, they become laughter-creating sign. Hence, attributes in front of the name Nasreddin become a sign of paradoxicality and opposition in the context of anecdote as symbols marking out the social order. Alan Dundes expresses this contradiction as follows: "The wise fool who commonly combines folly and wisdom" ... "a wise fool of the Hodja variety is a veritable walking oxymoron" (Dundes, 2007: 135).

So, the name of Nasreddin embodies the attributes expressing the content of social order and harmony. The name-attributes of Mullah, Hodja, Khodja and Efendi have particular content being important in terms of social relations. For example, if in Azerbaijani socio-cultural environment the status of mullah indicates on one hand the religious title, it specifies the teacher or a content of the process of teaching. It is to be noted that the attribute "mullah" combines the shades of erudite, competent, experienced and the function of generator of collective experience and knowledge. As it seen, there is acute contradiction between the meaning expressed by attributes, as "mullah", "hodja" and "efendi" and behaviors demonstrated by Mullah Nasreddin

(comic and ironic). We consider that this moment, i.e. the contradiction arisen between the name and behavior has to be paid special attention in explaining the laughter's psycho-semantics of Mullah Nasreddin image.

The texts of legends are of crucial importance from the point of view to explain the psycho-semantics fixed in the image of Mullah Nasreddin. Firstly, let's look at the examples of these aetiological texts collected from the folkloric areal in numerous versions.

In a text called "Caliph's Dream" (*text I*) selected amongst folklore samples collected from Saatli region of Azerbaijan, it is stated that "Three brothers by the name Bahlul, Nasreddin and Hasan were disciples of Imam Jafar Sadiq. Once upon a time, they read from a book that a human being will be born and kill all of them. The brothers being at a loss have decided to apply to Imam Jafar Sadiq to show them the way-out. He replies, "Bahlul, at that time, you will be a tall man known as Bahlul Danende. I advise you to make a horse from reeds, to mount and ride it towards the children and various directions. They will take you for an imbecile. Why do we kill him? So, for this reason you will be alive. Nasreddin, you will be an old man at that time with a big papakh on your head. You will play qayishdoydu[3] with the children. They will take you for a child and do not trouble you. Why kill him now? You will survive too. Then you, Hassan, to save yourself from death, you will write something about the coming human being. In this case, they don't run around you. That is why you will survive too. The events took place as it was said" (Rustamzadeh, 2014: 335).

The version of the Akhisga Turks living in Azerbaijan is as follows: (*text II*) "Once upon a time, there was a wise mullah. He had a ram. Each day, Mullah cuts off this ram and cooks soup three times a day and eats it with his students. At the end, he gathers the bones all together and offers prayers, as a result of this ceremony, the ram returns to life.

One day, mullah leaves the home. At leaving, mullah says the students not to cut the ram. If you fail to read prayer, the ram becomes crippled. However, Nasreddin, one of the mullah's students tries to convince them of his ability to read the prayer. He says: it is not difficult for me to collect the bones all together after eating, and at the end the ram will be alive.

They cut the ram. Then they collect bones. But they cannot form up bones correctly, that's why despite the prayers made by Nasreddin, the ram gets up, but became crippled.

When mullah came from the feast and saw that the ram was crippled. The people look and laugh. He knows that it's Nasreddin's joke. "I said you not to touch my ram! I damn you to be ridiculous as this ram!

Mullah's damnation touches Nasreddin. From that day, all the words of Nasreddin cause laughter and he is ludicrous among the people" (Ahmedli, Gubadli, 2008: 116).

[3] "Qayishdoydu" is a game in Azerbaijan among teenagers and youth.

Another version of the same text collected from Agdash region of Azerbaijan is as follows: (*text III*) "A shikh[4] had three disciples. He was a great sheikh. He had a ram. If he ever needs the meat, he cut it off, took some part of meat, offered prayers, after which the ram returned to life. One day, this sheikh was not at home. The disciples say that they also know his prayer. We cut it and eat and let it live again. They cut it, but the ram is not resurrected. Babak cuts, Nasimi stripped it off, mullah Nasreddin laughs. But the ram did not return to life. The sheikh comes back. He asks: why? They answer: we have cut it, we offered prayers, but it didn't return to life. He said, "Who cut it?" Babek says: "I cut it off". He said, "I damn you be cut off". He said, "Who has stripped it off?" Nasimi said, "I did." He said, "I damn you to be stripped off." He asks the late mullah: "What have you done?" He says, "I laughed at them." He says, "May Allah makes you ridiculous daylight". Then it was the day of laughter" (Rustamzadeh, 2006: 169).

It is to be noted that these types of texts are met in Turkey too. Let's also take a look at the example given by Turkish professor E. Tokmakchioglu about this matter: (*text IV*)

"Hoja has a lamb for which he cherished and was fond of. One day, his students have cut the lamb off, roasted and eaten it tastefully. The late understood who has done it. They have explained the event in succession: "I have brought the lamb", "I cut its head", "I stripped of its skin" and "I roasted and cooked it". One of them has kept silent. Hoja asks: "And what did you do, mullah?" He answers: "I looked at them and laughed". Hoja has become angry when he heard this answer and said: "I curse you to be target of laugh until the end of the world". Everything was as he had said. Therefore, nobody tries not to subject to his damnation (Tokmakchioglu, 1991: 57).

E. Tokmakchioglu presents another version of the legend specified above in his research paper (*text V*). "It is said that Huseyn ibn Mansur-al-Hallaj, one of the 10th century mystics executed in Bagdad and Seyid Nasimi, killed at the beginning of the 15th century in Aleppo were friends of Nasreddin Hoja. All of them were dervishes of a sheikh Baba Shuja. Sheikh has a sheep... Each day they cut, roast and eat the sheep and after offering prayers the animal was returning to life. One day, when their sheikh was absent they decided: Mansur will cut and stick the sheep, Nasimi will remove its skin and Nasreddin will look at this event laughing. They have eaten the sheep and collected its bones all together and at the end they offered prayers. But the sheep did not return to life. When sheikh was aware of this event he said: Mansur, I damn you to be cut off, to be hanged, Nasimi I wish you to be skinned, and you, Nasreddin I damn you to be object of laugh until the great disaster" (Tokmakchioglu, 1991: 58).

In each text either belonging to Saatli folklore, or talked by Akhisga Turks, or collected from Agdash region or from Turkey territory, the matter of laughter is

[4] Shikh is a folklore version of the Sheikh; this phrase in the folk language is about the dignitaries who have extraordinary knowledge and ability.

explained correspondingly. To our mind, there are lots of interesting moments in information received from these texts:

According to the information contained by the text I:

– Mullah Nasreddin (including Bahlul Danande) is one of disciple of Imam Jafar Sadiq;

– To get rid of death, Mullah Nasreddin is recommended to play "gayishdoydu" with children, with a big papakh (tall Caucasian hat usually made of sheepskin) on his head, behaving as a child;

According to the information contained in the text II:

– Mullah Nasreddin is a student of one of the sage mullahs of the past;

– He is damned, because he eats the ram and from that day all words cause laugh among the people".

According to the information contained in the text III:

– Mullah Nasreddin (as well as Babak and Nassimi) is learner of one of the greatest sheikhs;

– As they have eaten the sheikh's ram, the learners are damned (Babak is cut off, Nasimi is stripped off and Nasreddin became object of laugh);

According to the information contained in the text IV:

– Mullah Nasreddin is one of learners of Hoja;

– As they cut and eaten the Hoja's sheep, learners are subjected to his damnation (one of learners is subjected to laugh as he was laughing to this event).

According to the information contained in the text V (other version provided by Tokmakchioglu):

– Mullah Nasreddin (as well as, Mansur Hallaj and Imadeddin Nassimi) were dervishes of a sheikh called Baba Shuja;

– As they have eaten the sheikh's ram, they were subjected to his damnation (correspondingly, Mansur Hallaj was hanged, Nasimi's skin is taken out and Nasreddin is subjected to the target of laugh until the end of the world).

The motive presented unanimously in all of these text versions (excluding one of them) substantiates that Mullah Nasreddin was a disciple of one of the sage and sacred persons and he became a target of laughter against the punishment for sin he has committed. Certainly, the first one of these details, i.e. Mullah Nasreddin was disciple of one of the sage and sacred persons is serving as explanation and evidence of epithets used in front of his name, as mullah, hoja, khoja or efendi. In all cases, epithets used in front of the name Mullah Nasreddin relate him to the sacral-mystical semantics. Namely, for this reason, as P.N. Boratov notes, traditions have given to Mullah Nasreddin the natural power and sagacity to discover thoughts of the person he was in contact. The scholar has even stressed that Mullah Nasreddin had ability to guide people having difficulties through dreams or other popular belief that the persons intending to organize wedding party have preferred to visit the tomb of Mullah Nasreddin to get blessings (Boratav, 2014: 17-28). It is a matter of fact that information contained in traditions related to

Mullah Nasreddin is met more often in the texts of legends, traditions and folk-beliefs. Because, when separate emotions are exposed as texts (or genres), information are transforming into texts (or genres) according to the emotions. Information provided by the text (or the genre) of tradition or the legend cannot be accompanied by the laughter emotion (or one of its aspects). Situations and behaviors touched upon in this case, names or epithets are serving certainly the explanation or commentary of some reality to be believed unambiguously. It means that information contained in texts of folk-belief and legend is a proof of its sacral semantics. Consequently, the first motive in the text versions presented herein, i.e. relating of Mullah Nasreddin to the subjects of the sacral content has been reflected in the sacral-mystical epithets used in front of his name. The epithets used in front of the name Nasreddin and the imaginations that he was disciple of the persons with sacral semantics are indeed the different appearances of the same essence.

As to the second motive in the text versions, it substantiates that Nasreddin became a target of ridicule against the punishment of the sin he committed. We consider that explanation of this matter has to be carried out within the semantics of contradiction. To our mind, explanation of facts contained herein, i.e. the laughter given as punishment against the sin, has to be analyzed in line with the psycho-semantics aspect.

LAUGHTER AS AN OBJECT OF THE PHALLIC OPPOSITION

Let's pay attention to the situations provided in the texts: sheik's/shikh's/ imam's/ hoja's/mullah's ram/lamb is cut off. So, the matter is an outside meddling to something belonging to sheikh. If we consider the subject appearing in the status of the sheikh as an embodiment of authoritarianism (that is, the power of the father) and the ram which is the object of a sin – the sign of its phallic power, we will perceive that namely deprivation of masculinity is in the center of the opposition. Deprivation of the sheikh from the phallic mastery, i.e. emasculating of the ram belonging to the sheikh actualizes the penalty act that is signed in the text with the semanteme of damnation. Talking over the psychoanalytical semantics of the conflict between father and the son in the epos "Koroghlu", S. Garayev has especially stressed the actualization of phallic mastery deprivation in the context of sin and punishment. The findings of the researcher prove that the childlessness of the son (i.e. Koroghlu) is a result of deprivation of the father from the phallic mastery caused by the fact that the son has not given him water serving as healing for his eyes. That is, the son is deprived of the phallic mastery too (Garayev, 2016: 373). That is, Koroghlu is punished with childlessness. It means that the sin committed against father (violation of taboo) actualizes directly the deprivation of the phallic mastery. Cutting off sheikh's ram is indeed his deprivation of the phallic mastery that necessitates application a punishment upon the second party of the conflict as regards the sin committed.

In the envisaged versions, the other "sinners" are punished directly by death, or by deprivation of the life energy. According to the texts, because of laughing, Mullah Nasreddin becomes a target of ridicule until the end. That is, the punishment of a sin committed by Nasreddin against the sacral father – the sheikh results in humiliation. In this case, being a target of the laughter means namely as punishment of a sin. If we analyze the situation in more detailed form, we will be persuaded that the attitude of Nasreddin while cutting of the ram, i.e. "watching the event and laughing" mentions the reverse behavior in the tales and legends. As, if we refer on the observation of S. Garayev, the personage of fairy tale "Khalise ashi" (Khalise pilaff) laughs at the mourning and cries at the wedding. "In the both situations, the stupid character of the tale is punished because of his reversal action" (Garayev, 2018: 116). Thus, laughter of Nasreddin at the moment when sheikh's ram is cut off, serves as reversal behavior. His is punished namely because of this reversal attitude. Nasreddin is subjected to the sheikh's damnation namely for his action of laughing. To understand the core of damnation, it is necessary to remember an example of damnation used in the Azerbaijani language. "Seni gorum gulunc gune galasan!" – "I damn you everyone laughs at you everywhere!" The actualization context of this expression known in the folk language as a sample of damnation is related to the negative situation as well. Despite that the laugh is a sign of positive mood, the aforementioned discourse ("Everyone will laugh at you!") is indeed of negative character and expresses the content of humiliation. It signs factually to the social control permitted or prohibited by the society. In the Azerbaijani language, there is another expression, meaning the same social control regulating behavior and actions of any person. Subjecting to the laugh of people expresses encountering the people's reproach, i.e. an attitude putting a veto upon something based on the social control. That is, either the expressions "to be subject of laugh" and "became ridiculous in eyes of people" reflect encountering the people's reproach, which carries out the social control. I.e. the actualization context of these expressions represents it namely as the damnation and negative attitude.

If we express it metaphorically, laughing of Nasreddin at the moment of cutting of the sheikh's ram in one of the versions, means his joining the process by his laughter. H. Bergson writes that "... laughing really or imaginary includes an agreement with other laughing persons and *expresses in itself the thought of secret sin partner*" (Bergson, 2011: 14). So, laughing of Nasreddin after observing the known event connects him to the rank of sinners that necessitates inflicting a penalty upon him.

To continue the analysis of the matter, we have considered another fact in the text once again. The matter is that when the disciples of Imam Jafar Sadig read from the book that one day a person will be appeared to kill all of them, they began to look for way-out. To get rid of death Nasreddin is recommended to behave

himself as a child, i.e. to be a child. Probably, in this version, the danger of death has replaced the motive related to ram in other versions. So, behaving himself as a child means being outside the puberty, i.e., refusal of being subject of the phallic opposition. It concludes that being at a target of in a child skin estranges Mullah Nasreddin from the phallic opposition with the sheikh, transforms the contradiction to another context. And a behavior recommended to Mullah Nasreddin to get rid of the death, i.e. "playing with children" is an ethology of a sign pertaining to this character in general. There is a close connection between the trickster behaviors of Mullah Nasreddin in jokes (Karabas, 1990: pp.299-305; Guliyev, 2016: pp. 157-171) and the signs described in legends about this image. As if, the culture interprets the trickster behaviors in Mullah Nasreddin jokes based on legend technology. The legend presented above explains the unusual actions of Mullah Nasreddin referring to a behavior, i.e. getting rid of death. To reach this goal he has to be a child. Certainly, playing with children, joining them stipulates to accept the status and signs belonging to them that in such a case Mullah Nasreddin gets rid of the rank of *sinners*. Let's remember another expression in Azerbaijani language related to the child world: "gunahsiz ushaq" ("innocent child"). Certainly, the epithet "innocent" used in front of the word "child" is a social status given in general to the child by humanity and the culture. To our mind, as a child has no conflict in terms of attitudes with old men in any field of activity and their interests are not collided namely this fact explains the term "innocence" in the afore specified expression. That is, the way out recommended to Nasreddin in the text, i.e. playing with children expresses avoiding the contradiction with the sheikh and means deprivation of one of the opposite sides from the phallic symbol (being a child, transformation into child).

To this effect, we would like to remember a fact related to the common hero of Turkic peoples, Dada Gorgud. The myth and legend texts contain numerous descriptions in connection with avoiding Dada Gorgud from the Angel of Death. These texts imply the fact of joining Dada Gorgud the children playing on lakeside, hiding himself from death smearing mud on his face (Bayat, 2003: 44). The same situation may be observed in connection with Haji Dayi, the comic hero of Azerbaijani folklore. It is described in one of the texts that when the old Haji has a sensation to see the Angel of Death, he takes at once a baby's dummy and begins to suck it (Abdulhalimov, 2002:185). That is why he is able to escape from the peril. As you can see, to escape death, both Mullah Nasreddin, Dada Gorgud and Haji Dayi are imitating to be a child. This act, seen and observed in the context of anecdote as a comic behavior, i.e. buffoonery or artfulness means the idea to escape the conflict or preventing one of the conflicting parties through laughter. As to the imitation to be a child expresses escaping the confrontation in all levels and at the same time the phallic collision. We can consider that escaping the sheikh, father and Angel of Death expresses symbolically the equivalent meaning.

As it seen from the information provided by the aforementioned texts, transformation of Mullah Nasreddin into laughter's target is a punishment namely for his sin. In the situation implying the cutting of the sheikh's ram, i.e. deprivation of the sacral father from the masculinity symbol, punishment of Mullah Nasreddin with laughter, i.e. transformation into laughter target for other persons, transforms the laughter itself into the object of the phallic contradiction. It is possible to see the transformation of the laughter into the phallic contradiction in opposition of Mullah Nasreddin with Tamerlane and Kelniyyat[5] with Shah Abbas in the Azerbaijani anecdotes. If we take into account that Tamerlane is a monarch and authoritarian power, symbolizing the power and phallic mastery, we will understand the phallic specification of the conflict arisen between them in the context of comic situations in anecdotes. The same situation is easily observed in the opposition of Kelniyyet and Shah Abbas (as it seen from the collected texts and carried out observations), you can regularly meet with non-ethical motifs in the texts related to Kelniyyet (Asgar, 2005: 15). From the standpoint of social content, Kelniyyat fights against the monarch as Mullah Nasreddin as a symbol of power (see also: context of grotesque imagery – (Erdogan, 2013: pp. 21-36); as the confrontation "ruler-clown" – (Kazimoglu, 2016); as the opposition of ruler-jester – (Kazimoglu, 2016: 86-116); "as opposition of "people-power" – (Duman, 2012); in connection with Kelniyyet and Shah Abbas – (Ahmedli, 2018: pp. 76-100). It is to be noted that the confrontation both between Mullah Nasreddin and Tamerlane and Kelniyyet and Shah Abbas is built on the phallic conflict Mullah Nasreddin, being always in opposition with Tamerlane as his humorous antagonist (Marzolph, 1996) makes a fun of him (Tahmasib, 2004: 21), makes a woman of him In his turn, Kelniyyat, cutting the tail of the horse (Rustamzadeh, 2014: 342) tries to deprive him of the phallic mastery and power. These behaviors are taken place in a comic plan and the purpose of the verbal dueling (Dundes, Leach Özkök, 1970: 325) – confrontation between Mullah Nasreddin and Tamerlane, Kelniyyat and Shah Abbas is to humiliate the opposite side, to make a fun of his masculinity signs and to deprive him of the phallic mastery. As it was explained by A. Dundes in example of cockfighting and bullfighting commented by him as the phallic confrontation, i.e., as if the winner tries to symbolically deprive the defeated side of the masculinity and make him a woman (Dundes, 2007: 293). Certainly, the fact implying making a fan of Tamerlane and Shah Abbas correspondingly by Mullah Nasreddin and Kelniyyet through verbal dueling based on the phallic symbols in a comic plan, deprivation of the second parties from the title of shah (and other symbols pertaining to him) by the first parties of the opposition enables us to analyze the laughter as a subject of the phallic confrontation and deprivation of manhood.

[5] Kelniyyat is an image of Azerbaijani folklore; as it seen from the texts, he is jester in Shah Abbas's palace. There is a sharp competition between Shah Abbas and Kelniyyet in a comic plan.

UNUSUAL BIRTH AND OPPOSITION WITH FATHER

There are numerous legends about the birth of Mullah Nasreddin in Turkic people. As the Turkish scholar A.B. Alptekin, writes about the text version in Uzbek language: "According to the legend, the lady of Shermamat who was engaged in pottery has no child. To reach her desire, the woman offers prayer until morning. Bringing the pottery products to the Uzbek market early in the morning met a boy with teeth in a pot. According to the Uzbek popular beliefs, a child who was born with teeth will be in future the khan or a rich man. In this case, the appearance of the child in a pot has to be clarified. Despite the search for the child's father and mother within ninety days, they were not found out, and the child was named Nasreddin. The clever, hard-working and word-joker Nasreddin lives by pottering in the market" (Alptekin, 2011: 26).

Two moments in the described source are interesting: Nasreddin is found out in a pot and is born with teeth in mouth. Firstly, being found out in a pot, i.e. birth has to be commented as a miraculous event including Mullah Nasreddin to the rank of extraordinary heroes. The cultural traditions give to Mullah Nasreddin a meaning as Koroghlu, Dada Gorgud or character of fairy tale. We can consider that one of the moments connecting the mentioned characters in a unique center is an unusual birth motif. So, tradition enables us to analyze Mullah Nasreddin within a unique semantics together with the aforementioned characters.

As to the second details, we can explain it as follows: what does mean to be born with teeth in a mouth? According to the texts either collected from the Azerbaijani territory or other Turkic people, birth of a child with teeth in his mouth is a special event. For example, as it states in one of the Azerbaijani (Garagoyunlu folklore) folk sample: "If the fresh-born child has teeth in mouth, you have to make sacrifice for him and offer prayers. If not, an accident may occur at the home (Ismayilov, Suleymanov, 2002: 22). And according to the Uzbek tradition, "... a child born with teeth in a mouth will be khan or a rich man in future" (Alptekin, 2011: 26). According to another text, birth of child with teeth in mouth is a sign to the death of his father. In the text in the Uzbek language related to the birth of Mullah Nasreddin, the motif of his birth with teeth is indeed the appearance of the conflict with father (with the sheikh in the texts explained above). We may consider that the conflict arisen between the sheikh and his disciples in a context of cutting off the ram has taken place here in the form, of a birth of Mullah Nasreddin with teeth in his mouth. We may conclude that the both of them are different appearances of the same semantics. Obviously, we may find the details of this type in other Turkic people in connection with the birth of Mullah Nasreddin.

CONCLUSIONS

If we compare the texts of legend, expression and popular beliefs analyzed above with Mullah Nasreddin anecdotes we can introduce an idea that the

mentioned imaginations are the main "keys" of the metaphoric world contemplated in Mullah Nasreddin jokes. We can consider that the legend, saying and belief texts is an interpretation of comic and ironic behaviors of Mullah Nasreddin personage, origin of laughter contained herein and its essence by the culture. According to the information provided by these texts:

– Mullah Nasreddin is a character sacralized by the culture, there are taboo, prohibition and folk-beliefs in connection with him;

– The sacral semantics of Mullah Nasreddin may be explained by the epithets used in front of his name (mullah, hoja and efendi) and the beliefs about him;

– Mullah Nasreddin is a sinful man as he participated both actively and passively in the process of cutting of a ram, i.e. because of laughter;

– Mullah Nasreddin laughed in a moment prohibiting to do so;

– Mullah Nasreddin's reversal actions in the jokes may be explained by the fact that he was born laughing but not weepingly

– Mullah Nasreddin was obliged to behave himself as a child to escape the death (child's actions – trickster psychology);

– Alongside with a collision with super phallic power and strong will the confrontations between Mullah Nasreddin and sheikh, Mullah Nasreddin and Angel of Death, Mullah Nasreddin and Tamerlane may be explained as social protest and being out of norm.

So, both the texts of legends, tradition, expression and jokes provides information related closely one with another about Mullah Nasreddin according to the nature of genres they belong.

As the psychoanalytical analysis of information related to Mullah Nasreddin proves that the laughter is at the same time punishment of the sin committed and a subject of the phallic confrontation – deprivation of masculinity. We may consider that analysis of Mullah Nasreddin anecdotes namely from this standpoint may enable to obtain new and interesting results.

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THE BLOGGER AS A FOLKLORIST: ELEMENTS OF THE FOLKLORIC IN SELECTED NIGERIAN BLOGS

OMOTAYO OMITOLA

ABSTRACT

Bloggers collect and also generate folklore in the course of blogging. They explore both online and offline sources and archive their contents. The archival nature of blogs fulfills a crucial element of the folkloric: easy transmission. Bloggers also give their own interpretation of featured folklore, thereby fulfilling another crucial element of the folkloric: unstable interpretations/ meanings. Concerned with the viability of blogs as cultural artefacts, this paper subjected three months' (October – December, 2016) worth of contents from three Nigerian blogs–Linda Ikeji's Blog (a filter blog), Jarus Hub (a notebook) and Geek Blog (a knowledge blog)–to close textual readings to determine the frequency with which and the manner in which they refer to online sources, especially other SNSs. Although each blog has a different focus, all three blogs contribute to the propagation of folk culture, identifying with other, more interactive SNSs and creating cultural meaning and artefacts with them by adopting and archiving their posts, thereby ensuring their (blogs') own viability.

Keywords: Nigerian blogs, bloggers, folklore, folklorist.

INTRODUCTION

The digital age is the age of rapid creation and transfer of information. Whether folklore qualify as information is a subject of debate, but in the digital age, they also enjoy the ease and rapidity of information sharing. Folks of the digital age meet often but they do not often meet physically. Their virtual meeting points and places are facilitated by the Internet, through the instruments of computers and handheld devices. Of course, the ease and the frequency of their virtual meetings also affect the nature as well as volume of the lore they produce. In this sense, digital folks of varying communities generate peculiar lores at peculiar speeds. Social network sites (SNSs) are fertile virtual meeting places for

various groups of people, i.e. folk groups who are "any group of people whatsoever who share at least one common factor" (Dundes, 1980: 6).

As social network sites, blogs facilitate interaction among netizens, but not to the degree that other, more interactive SNSs like Facebook, Twitter and YouTube do. One reason for this is that a blog revolves around the owner of the blog, i.e. the blogger. Where the other SNSs are websites where many individuals can type themselves into being (Sunden, 2003) and thus create an online space for themselves, a blog is in itself a mini website catering to a particular individual whom other individuals compulsorily have to make time for as they visit the site. Therefore, as spontaneous as discussions on a blog might be, they must be tied to a blog entry/post. Blogs are different from other SNSs in this regard given that random individuals are responsible for contents as well as spontaneous and viral discussions on these other sites. However, because the pressure is solely on bloggers to create contents for their blogs, they have to constantly look for ways not just to upload new entries but also to keep the blog interesting. Where on other SNSs there is shared responsibility for content generation, on blogs bloggers do a solo operation. This is where the possibility of their foraging for contents on other SNSs comes in. These other SNSs seem to have an inexhaustible supply of contents given the fact that they have millions of users who blend folk culture with popular culture and with mass media messages by the second. When bloggers harvest contents from these sites therefore, they inevitably gather folklore. This paper looks into the folkloric contents gathered from SNSs on three blogs and explains the significance of this.

Blank (2018) stresses the importance of a cultural inventory in contemporary vernacular expression, pointing out the strong connections that folk culture has to popular culture and mass media. He notes that vernacular expressions of popular culture origins are directly linked to their origins in terms of circulation and relevance. In other words, "as a text or artifact from popular culture declines in popularity or retreats from mainstream news coverage, so too does its conspicuous appearance in vernacular expression" (p. 5). Bloggers are known to source for contents from traditional media houses, including radio stations, TV stations and newspapers (although they may get such contents from the websites of these media houses and not necessarily their traditional outlets). They also do as well posting popular culture expressions and information. It is understandable that bloggers do not consciously collect folklore the way professional folklorists do; theirs is a chance occurrence which is, however, just as valid. Folklorists gather folklore in order to study and preserve them; bloggers gather them to keep their blogs going and in the process inventory them.

Although professional folklore collectors used to insist on the oral nature of the objects of their interest, preferring to record them as utterances from the mouths of informants and not words from written sources (Dundes, 2007), there is now a general consensus on the validity of printed folklore, particularly those found on

the Internet among virtual communities: "The Internet is an ideal conduit for the transmission of folk narratives due to its anonymity and efficiency in the speedy dissemination of ideas. Folk groups are readily identifiable on the internet as evidenced by chat forums, blogs, online political activity, fan web pages, and a plethora of other interrelated concepts" (Blank, 2007:19). In a more recent publication, Blank (2018) also points out that "to be sure, a substantial portion of modern technologically-mediated folklore is comprised of material that follows folkloric form and function, carrying unmistakable evidence of repetition and variation" (p. 1). Perhaps one major reason for the validity of digital folklore is to be found in an understanding of memes, which Shifman (2013) defines as "cultural information that passes along from person to person, yet gradually scales into a shared social phenomenon" (p. 364-5). He goes further to explain that "although they spread on a micro basis, memes' impact is on the macro" (p. 365), as they shape the mindsets, forms of behavior, and actions of social groups (Knobel & Lankshear, 2007). For folk groups, these cultural information take the forms of songs, poems, rhymes, riddles, tales and legends, teases and pranks, jokes, chain letters, personal narratives, "memes" etc. (Dundes, 2007; Howard, 2008). This paper identifies the cultural information in three Nigerian blogs, considers that such information generally originate from SNSs, and bears in mind that the bloggers express their own meanings in publishing the cultural information. Using folkloric elements form the blogs as evidence, it highlights vernacular language use, the archival nature of blogs and the unending supply of folklore from SNSs as essential to the function of the blogger as a folklorist.

THE THREE BLOGS UNDER STUDY

The three blogs selected for this study were Linda Ikeji's Blog (LIB), Geek Blog and Jarus Hub. LIB is a filter blog (Blood, 2000) which deals in a variety of topics; its contents are eclectic. Geek Blog is a knowledge blog (Blood, 2002a) dealing in gadgets and technological know-how. As for Jarus Hub, it can be referred to as a notebook (Blood, 2000) because it has longer, more focused essays on career, mentorship and employability. LIB had an average of 50 entries a day during the period under study, unlike the other two blogs which are not at all as prolific. Due to its prolific nature, therefore, only the posts of the first week in each of the three months were studied for LIB.

VERNACULAR LANGUAGE: THE HALLMARK OF THE FOLKLORIC

A distinct feature of the vernacular is that it stands apart from the institutional, taking its meaning essentially from what the institutional is not. However, in doing this, it also takes its meaning from what the institutional is, for this suggests that without the institutional there cannot be the vernacular. The

vernacular stands for alterity, the other(s) as against the institutional or the establishment. By their very nature, blogs presuppose the other. Just like other SNSs, they support informal discourses and the perpetuation of vernacular communities where thoughts and thought processes are not sanctioned by constituted authority. This nature makes them a choice place for individuals to not just speak against authority, but to also talk back at authority in an imaginary. Going by Dundes' (1980) definition that a folk group is that group of people that has at least one thing in common, then the desire to voice opinions and thoughts that are not particularly institution-friendly would be one thing that binds blog readers together. Howard (2005) also notes that "the vernacular is generally characterized by individual variation from a shared form" (p. 329). This shared form would consist in individuals' perception and understanding of issues, especially when they differ from institutional ones. The meme would be a possible outcome of such form, moving on from one individual to another, being molded and remolded by each of these individuals, but essentially retaining its original core. The collective of the perceptions and understandings of individuals then makes up the vernacular.

Vernacular language is characterized by a spontaneous, informal writing style; that style that gives little or no thought to what others might think. Although this is not to say that the vernacular ethos is one that encourages reckless speech, it is also not to say that vernacular language is elite language. LIB featured posts where she noted the "cool" nature of people and things. Among the digital age folks, when something or someone is dubbed "cool", it means the person or thing is not just acceptable but also approved of. On 5 October, 2016, LIB talked about BBM's (BlackBerry Messenger) fotoquest challenge and said "BBM is calling on all the cool and creative Nigerians to channel their inner photography skills and openly express themselves through the #BBMfotoquest challenge". Cool Nigerians here refer to the trendy users of BlackBerry phones who are interested in taking pictures. On another occasion (1 December, 2016), LIB described as "cool" the fact that a lady is an on-air personality. She posted this person's childhood picture and asked her readers to guess her identity. Cool was the blogger's way of endorsing the lady's chosen profession. Using a slang to describe both institutional and non-institutional actors thus introduces the element of instability not necessarily to the meaning of the word but to its application.

As a tech blog, the only time that Geek Blog featured the word "cool" in the three months under study was when it described a mobile phone, Infinix Zero Four Plus, on 10 December, 2016. In its review of the phone, the blogger said, "The camera app wants you to simply point and shoot without messing with any settings. Some may find this super cool and its [*sic*] almost certain that those who want more control may not really dig it." "Cool" is not even sufficient a description for what the blogger tries to capture, so he adds super to it, meaning that the camera app may appeal very much to some users and they may be very appreciative of it.

In the same manner, he uses a slang, which can be described as a synonym of "cool", to talk about people who may not appreciate this feature. Geek talks about others who "may not really dig" the camera app and this tells us that "dig" is another way of expressing appreciation. If he were to keep using "cool" to express this, he would say "...those who want control may not be cool with it". However, in the same way that elevated language is at home in institutional settings, the vernacular is also so natural that synonyms, antonyms, metonyms and all others are just as easily used and appreciated by members of folk communities.

Vernacular language is not self-conscious in the sense of looking to please the establishment; rather it is self-conscious in the manner in which it cements the informal bonds of a folk community. It is communication in a language that is readily familiar to a specific group of people "and often made with readily available materials generally for functional application" (Heath, 2003: 50). Vernacular expressions are everyday language use that people engage when they relate with their social peers. This was apparent on Geek Blog when the blogger told his readers about his impressions of iPad Air 2 and MacBook Pro on 21 December, 2016. The title of the blog entry read "I Just Tried Duet Display on My iPad Air 2 and MacBook Pro and I Love It". This submission is so personal and intimate, even though it is not anything that the blogger need otherwise be secretive about. The choice of words, though not slangy, is not likely to be one that will be employed in an institutional setting. The words represent his innermost thoughts about the gadget, express his passion and fondness for the gadget and also hint at a bond between his readers and he. Schmidt (2007) notes that blog readers expect no less from bloggers. Blogs are informal platforms where informal discussions take place so that when an attempt is made by a blogger or blog administrators to introduce institutional measures or sanctions, there is usually a protest by members of the vernacular community of the blog (Howard, 2005).

Readers' expectation and assumption of the informal was probably what led Jarus Hub to revert to the vernacular from time to time. Although more institutional than vernacular, considering its subject matter (career and entrepreneurship), Jarus Hub featured the vernacular often in its entries. A post on 4 October, 2016 titled "How to Make Your CV more Visible to Your Audience?" talked about the importance of the CV in applying for jobs and encouraged readers to take note of certain important factors in writing their CV. These factors included studying job postings, using attractive words in the CV, repeating keywords, mentioning achievements etc. However, in the course of giving all of this advice in an authoritative tone characteristic of the institutional, the writer veered off a little into the vernacular: "You already have all the skills required for the post so a little tweak won't hurt." Tweaking refers to the act of adjusting or fine-tuning a mechanism or system. Taken at face value the way it is used on the blog then, one may want to assume that all the writer is trying to say is for the reader to fine-tune their CV. On closer consideration of the entire expression however, one gets the

feeling that the writer is advocating that the CV be embellished, and embellishment may be good or bad. As pointed out by Bhabha (1995) that the vernacular takes part in the institutional, the vernacular meaning of tweak is taken from its institutional meaning, i.e. to fine tune and cause to be more effective. Taken in this context then, a tweaked CV elevates the mood and ability of its owner, at least in the short run, what with the embellishments it contains. In the long run, however, such a CV will cause delusions for the owner and even bring about depression when an employer or a prospective employer discovers the abbreviated or exaggerated truths it contains.

The words "kinda" and "lol" are stock words in vernacular vocabulary. "Kinda", a jocular reduction of "kind of", goes hand in glove with "lol". When folks use the expression "lol", it does not necessarily mean that they are laughing out loud; rather it only shows that they find the situation amusing. In a 1 October, 2016 post, LIB noted that US President Obama "grew kinda impatient" with former president Bill Clinton when the latter did not get on the plane on time. The use of "kinda" seems to suggest that the blogger does not really know how to describe President Obama's reaction. However, when members of a vernacular community hedge in their speech, it is not always because they are unsure of themselves but because hedging is an apologetic way of saying what a fellow speaker may not necessarily want to hear (Wilamova, 2005; Ahmed, 2017). Wilamova (2005) even argues that hedges "are pragmatic markers that attenuate (or weaken) the strength of an utterance" (p. 85). By hedging in this manner and sounding apologetic, LIB takes the sting out of her utterance about the current president shouting at a former president. This does not diminish the blogger's performative act of describing the actions of the representatives of establishment in a vernacular manner; what it does is to point out that sometimes folks' vocabulary take on new meanings, depending on the context of use.

THE FOLKLORISTS' DREAM: THE ARCHIVAL NATURE OF BLOGS/BLOGS AS COLLECTIVE MEMORY

Folklorists would be glad to have the folklore of communities at particular times in history collected and stored for further study and closer examination. Blogs do this; they collect folklore and store them in a manner that facilitates coherent and easy retrieval. They are online archives that differ from other online sites because archiving is innate to them. They do not just archive by default like many other online sites; they archive because archiving is an integral part of blogging. Expectedly then, bloggers quote their blogs and link their posts when necessary. Gill (2004) explains that among various other characteristics of blogs are

- Reverse chronological journaling (format)
- Regular, date-stamped entries (timeliness)
- Links to related news articles, documents, blog entries within each entry (attribution)

- Archived entries
- Passion (voice)

Similarly, Schmidt (2007) defines blogs as "frequently updated websites where content (text, pictures, sound files, etc.) is posted on a regular basis and displayed in reverse chronological order" (p. 1409). No other social network site is defined by these essentials. Archiving is necessary when data is numerous, and blogs can have numerous data. It helps to organize available data and store them in an easily accessible way. Boudrez (2005) notes that "when man invented writing he also invented archives. This made it possible for him to leave behind traces of his experiences, his discoveries, his fears and his inventions" (p. 7). By extension, when bloggers start blogging they automatically create an archive for their entries where their activities on the blog are stored over time. Among the features of a good archival system are labels (e.g. name tag, date, time etc.). Blog entries are date-stamped and archived in a reverse chronological order. Jarus Hub and Geek Blog have dedicated links to their archives and these links are on constant display on the blogs. Jarus Hub even goes as far as archiving its entries on a monthly basis so that all an interested person need do, once s/he knows the date of the entry needed, is to click on the link for the corresponding month. Ironically, despite the fact that it has a more voluminous archive than both Jarus Hub and Geek Blog, LIB does not have a dedicated section where its archives can easily be accessed. However, it has a search bar for entering the keywords for a search. It may be that the banner ads regularly featured on the blog take up the space that should otherwise be used to display the archives. Furthermore, in keeping with their (mostly) vernacular nature, not only entries, but also readers' comments, are archived on blogs. For every blog entry, the comments are archived alongside so that when an old entry is called up, its comments appear with it. This means that not only folklore but also folk processes can be studied on blogs, regardless of the actual time of their occurrence.

Of course it may be argued that SNSs and the generality of websites also have date stamped entries which can be retrieved. However, for the folklorist, the uniqueness of the Nigerian blogs under study is the fact that they act like curators of the occurrences on the traditional SNSs. The Internet is a cacophony of expressions and texts but what the bloggers do is to identify topical issues among the various ones available on several internet platforms. For SNSs in particular where multiple interactions go on simultaneously in an endless manner, keeping abreast and making meaning out of the several discourses competing for attention would be a gargantuan task for the folklorist. When considered from this angle, the blogger who harvests posts from an SNS not only becomes a folklorist themselves, but also make the task of other interested folklorists simple. By sifting through the discourses on the SNS and deciding on the topical ones, the blogger as a folklorist helps their reader to make a symphony out of the cacophony of the internet per time. For instance, if a folklorist were to find out the mobile phone feature that

most interested consumers in year 2017, Geek Blog would be a good place to start. The phone reviews on the blog would give one an idea of the folk processes that revolved around the use and improvement of features such as the camera, the battery and the screen of smartphones. This would be easily teased out chronologically, what with the date-stamped, reverse chronological ordering of the blog entries. Conversely, to do this on Facebook, for instance, would amount to typing in the search bar and visiting random people's walls in a haphazard manner.

SNS AND THE UNENDING SUPPLY OF FOLKLORE

Blogs are often grouped together with other social media. Nevertheless, it is necessary to point out that as much as they are like these other media, including SNSs, they are also different. Chan-Olmsted, Cho and Lee (2013) rightly note that "different social media applications, though sharing some underlying commonalities, offer different core utilities, satisfy different primary needs, and have different levels of popularity" (p. 3). SNSs, for one, are particularly popular because they are "actually just about being human beings" (Mayfield, 2008: 7). In other words, they are about interaction and communication. Not that blogs are also not about interaction and communication, but what sets them apart from other SNSs is the fact that they are majorly sites owned and administered by individuals who create their main contents (posts/entries) and so determine the kinds of contents that visitors can generate. Blog readers only get to generate content by reading blog posts and commenting on them or on comments made on them. Although readers can and do write comments not related to the blog post under which they enter their comments, the fact still remains that without a blog post there can be no comment section. Where other SNSs exist based on the collective of users, blogs exist based on the personalization and individuality of their owners (bloggers).

Whether they, their users or their uses were being talked about, SNSs came up in various entries for all three blogs. Geek Blog posted a story about Facebook's chief security officer's visit to Nigeria and in the post referred to the earlier visit of Facebook CEO, Mark Zuckerberg, to Nigeria. This story may not have "trended" on SNSs (Facebook included), but being a tech blog that deals in gadgets, software, applications and platforms that the generality of his readers find useful, Geek Blog saw the need to post this story. Although the post looked somewhat like a newspaper story, especially after the introductory paragraph, it still made for an interesting entry, especially because it contained details about the extra security measures that Facebook was taking to promote the online safety of its users. Jarus Hub's dedicated allusion to Instagram was in a post about the uses of Instagram beyond the posting of selfies. The blog highlighted 6 ways in which smart entrepreneurs can deploy Instagram and encouraged readers to explore them. By mentioning that Instagram is useful beyond uploading selfies, the blog alerts us to the trend of self-photography. The references to SNSs by the bloggers, particularly

when users' posts are not the objects of their interest, is informed by the nature of the SNSs as more interactive, popular platforms that many people are interested in. Whereas the availability of contents on a blog depends solely on its owner(s), SNSs continue to exist even when individuals stop using them because by their very nature they are used by large numbers of people and belong to no one in particular, at least in terms of content generation. The individualistic nature of blogs hampers their content size. This is hardly surprising, considering that the majority of blogs are owned by individuals and an individual can only single handedly generate as much content (Schiano, Nardi, Gumbrecht and Swartz, 2004). Bloggers are thus often constrained to explore other avenues than their muses for creating contents for their blogs. Many times these sources are online, but they are often offline as well. When they explore online sources, SNSs feature strongly among the sites bloggers visit for content (Weltevrede and Helmond, 2012; Chen, 2013).

In 2013, Terragon Insights, a new media agency, put the percentage of Facebook and Twitter users in Nigeria at 83% and 57% respectively. These figures are based on the estimated 9 million social media users in Nigeria. It is interesting to note that no blog featured among the most popular SNSs listed. Later in October 2017, Terragon Insights listed Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and LinkedIn as the most popular social media sites in Nigeria. In keeping with this trend then, LIB regularly featured posts of contents lifted from Facebook, Twitter and Instagram during the three months under study (i.e. the last quarter of 2016). These posts came in the forms of tales, urban legends, jokes, teases and pranks etc. some of these posts are ow discussed. A lady whom LIB explained was the daughter of the renowned Nigerian clergy, Bishop David Oyedepo, related a story which she said a woman shared. LIB posted the story on 2 December 2016 and credited it to a repost by Joys Oyedepo, daughter of the famous pastor, on Instagram. In the story, the affected woman talked of God's grace which saved her despite the fact that she slept with a groom on the morning of his wedding, just before the ceremony. Although the supposed name of the woman was contained in the post, probably to lend credibility to the story, it still sounded like a tale. Urban legends are known to have this particular attribute of narcissistically pointing out their own credibility. Brunvand (1990) rightly notes that the question of trust in folk knowledge networks is a valid one, particularly manifesting in the "friend of a friend" trend in urban legends–such as the story on LIB (p. 23).

Legends have been said to be "richly evocative of society's fears, hopes, anxieties, and prejudices, and folklorists decode these narratives to reveal and analyze the cultural attitudes expressed within" (Blank, 2009:9). The story in the post contained the kind of occurrence that women in particular hope never to be part of on their wedding day (i.e. being the bride of a groom who has sexual relations with another woman just before taking his marriage vows). The story teller thence declares that she knows "some of y'all think some things are better left unsaid". For one, it is a confirmation, even if a somewhat questionable one,

that one of society's fears can actually take place and has probably actually taken place. It does not mean that as much as women hope against such occurrences they do not know that they actually take place; however, like the narrator said, some things are better left unsaid. Legends fulfill some function in this manner, allowing people to say some things which they would otherwise not say. Due to the anonymity afforded by the Internet, this narrator is able to "openly" talk about sentiments that are abrasive (Eichhorn 2001; Bargh, McKenna, and Fitzsimons 2002; Fernback 2003; Kibby 2005; Blank 2007). However, she ends her narrative by saying she does this (hurts her reader's sensibilities, shocks the community) all in a bid "to encourage someone", as it is a testament to the fact of God turning a test into a testimony for her. Blank (2009) and Bacon (2011) note that urban legends have variants in the form of chain letters and e-mail hoaxes. While not exactly a chain letter nor an e-mail hoax, this story has some approximate elements of both. Bacon (2011) talks about the "threat of harm or ill will that is often present in a chain letter" (p. 9). This refers to the closing part of such letters which admonishes a reader to pass them on in order to avoid harm or to come into some gain/reward. This story on LIB does not contain an overt threat or promise but it can be inferred that the narrator desires her readers to take the same step she has taken, i.e. "Allow Jesus make something beautiful out of your life.... Try Jesus". The reward for this, in her words: "heaven approves you". This story points out the unstable nature of not just society's classification of its fears and prejudices, but also the unstable nature of scholarly categorizations of folklore. It also speaks to the sensibilities and sentiments of Nigerian Christians, showcasing how culture has been merged with religious beliefs.

Traditionally, groomsmen are men who escort a groom during his wedding procession. In the usual vernacular manner of taking an anti-establishment stand, a lady was one of her brother's groomsmen at his wedding. She shared pictures of herself and the other groomsmen on Instagram which was where LIB lifted them. In her usual manner, the blogger does not create a write-up around the pictures, only supplying a title for the entry under which she featured them on 02 November, 2016. Such an unusual occurrence, while not necessarily news worthy per traditional news gathering, is definitely news worthy for ordinary folks who are particularly interested in societal fears and prejudices. It is amusing in its eccentricity, poking fun at the institutional practice of men alone being members of the groom's party. In this spirit, LIB titled the entry "Aww! This Lady Was among the Groomsmen at Her Brother's Wedding". After the first picture, she went ahead to add a one-liner about her impression of the pictures and where she got them: "She shared the beautiful pictures on Instagram." It leaves one wondering what the blogger's reaction would be if the situation were reversed, i.e. a man being one of the bride's maids. As shocking as it may be to see a female "groomsman", the blogger's voiced impression gives one pause and causes one to see it from another angle of innovativeness: "Aww!" is colloquial for speechless fondness and the fact that she mentions that the pictures are beautiful signals her endorsement. Going by

her subtle interpretation, a reader sees some appeal in the eccentricity and may even wonder if he/she might also try it someday.

LIB featured other stories from Instagram like that posted by singer Olu Maintain's manager on the car the singer bought for him, the story about how singer Demi Lovato broke the heart of the artist who made a mermaid drawing of her and her fans' subsequent response to this, the actress Oge Okoye's birthday wishes to her mum, Senator Dino Melaye's thoughts on the secret to riches etc. By showing on her blog the thoughts of other Instagram on these stories, LIB showcased communality. For instance, the story on Demi Lovato contained screen shots of various fans' comments on her initial response to the artist who drew a mermaid version of her. Lovato took exception to how the artist portrayed her body and this launched a series of comments from other users. In much the same way as the commenters on the Official Kerry Edwards blog protested, Demi Lovato's fans launched a "vernacular backlash" against her since, as a celebrity, she has become public property. Lovato protested against the drawing which followed the format of the traditional prank/tease. Although it is a normal reaction for a person to protest against a prank played on her, the comments of Lovato's fans speak of the expressive choices which "simultaneously enact and transmit the perceived community in an ongoing folkloric process" (Howard, 2005: 202, 208). The same applies to Senator Dino Melaye, who, in a country where politicians are generally perceived as corrupt, came on a social medium to talk about the secret to being rich. The responses he got were a mixture of supportive and condemning views. The comments section on his Instagram entry even became a "zone of contestation" (Howard, 2008: 200) with commenters going at each other as an offshoot of Senator Melaye's post. All these were recorded on LIB in a curatorial manner.

In its only reference to Twitter (26 November, 2016) during the three-month period, Geek featured Twitter users' tweets about the observance of Black Friday for that year. The blogger screen grabbed a series of tweets to accompany his own words on the Black Friday scam. The tweets supported his view of the scam and no conflicting tweet was featured. He ended the post by asking his readers to send in their views on the topic. The discussion of the Black Friday scam on Geek Blog usurps the limited ability of the mass media object (Black Friday) "to interact with the dynamic processes of lived experience" (Howard, 2005: 200). For the folks of the Twitter community where Geek Blog lifted the tweets, Black Friday was a mere (mass) media object before they experienced it live and then subsequently shared their experiences in their vernacular community. Geek Blog mentioned in the post that Black Friday was advertised and promoted, even by bloggers, before the day. At the time of its advertisement and promotion, it was a mere object lying outside the lived experience of individuals. However, with the dawning of the day

and the living of it, people could start to talk about it in a folkloric performance with local relevance, given that individually and collectively they had experienced it. It is ironic that blogs, platforms where individuals enact the communal, also played a role in the objectification of Black Friday prior to its lived experience. At the point of objectifying Black Friday through adverts and other promotion strategies, blogs were institutional tools, but they became vernacular communities when people discussed their lived experience of Black Friday. This is what Dorst (1990) means by the blurring of the distinction between folk and mass as a result of "the vernacular deployment of institutionally produced commercial technologies" (Howard, 2008: 194).

Jokes and tales are a stock in trade for vernacular communities, hence they are a prominent category in folklore and they occur often on blogs and SNSs. Jokes are so commonplace in folklore that they are even sometimes referred to as "jokelore" (Blank, 2009). Russell (2009) believes that "most jokes are either riddles or stories with punch lines" (p. 107). The punchline is the marker of the worded joke because it is where the tension built up in the first part of the telling gets resolved. Of all the three blogs, only LIB features joked between October and December 2016, and they were of various types. One telling thing about the jokes on LIB is that the blogger herself indicates her amusement by accompanying jocular posts with the slangy "lol". There was a funny video, some funny pictures and also some funny word texts curated from SNSs.

From Twitter came a screenshot, on 7 November, of a tweet by a coloured American woman. According to her, "I took Tuesday off to vote, then get nails, hair and a facial so I look decent at the slave auction on November 9, if Trump wins". Since she has a largely Nigerian audience, the blogger helped her readers to make sense of the post by explaining that "Tommorrow is U.S presidential elections." The tweeter was implying, albeit jokingly, that chances were high that she could get auctioned off as a slave if Donald Trump won the US presidential elections. And a similar one by another female Twitter user, "You feel shy removing your sister's panties from e dry line when its about to rain but you can remove e panties of someone's sis with your teeth". The tweet ends with the emoji of a downcast expression. LIB adds a rejoinding "exactly right" at the bottom of the screenshot. There were also hilarious pictures on the blog. Hajduk-Nijakowska (2015) refers to them as "pictorial joke" (p. 167). One such picture was posted on 5 November. It was of a lady posing in a skimpy plastic attire and carrying a matching plastic bag. The blogger captioned the post "Whose girlfriend is this?", to capture the hilarity and quirk in the picture. The rhetorical question by the blogger has an underlying tone of incredulity, one which may be echoed in the consciousness of her readers as they wonder who would possibly pose in such

attire despite having ties with people (e.g. a boyfriend) who ought to have advised her otherwise. Although promoting hilarity, jokes can also be soberingly trenchant in their messages. For instance, the joke about Trump exposes the decay and decadence in the supposedly modern 21st century human society where a coloured person harbors deep-seated fear about their place in a particular society, especially when people of certain political leanings come into power.

One funny video of a woman in an impossibly tight dress appeared on 4 October 2016. She looked funny in the dress but the punch line of the joke seemed to be her claim that she was comfortable in it and the blogger repeated this in the words accompanying the video on the blog. There were funny pictures about outrageous acts like the cartoon depiction of the singer, Flavour, as a pole dancer. The picture, which clearly captured his facial features, showed him as a muscled pole dancer. The joke in this picture is that females, and slimly built ones at that, are usually the pole dancers. A post of a screenshot from Twitter appeared on 1 December 2016. A Twitter user tweeted: PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT!!! Please leave people's men alone. Find your own. Kind regards, management. A responding tweet read, "Who said we want to be left alone? Speak for your man please." The tweet ended with the emoji of a raised palm appearing thrice. The raised palm emoji is to mimic the gesture of "stop" usually used in a derogatory manner in a face-to-face conversation. Both tweets appear to be teases, with the first one claiming to be an announcement from an organization and the second one rebuffing the tweeter, not as an organization, but as an individual and implying that he does not want to be left alone (assumedly by women). Taken together, however, the two tweets become a joke. A similar 2-person post joke is that of a Facebook conversation (between two people) about the differences in the school fees in a public Nigerian university and a privately-owned one. The Facebook conversation was also screen grabbed and posted as a picture on LIB. In the picture, the first Facebook user noted: Covenant University: school fee #432,000, ranked 6th best school; Unilorin: school fee #25,000, ranked 1st. How wise is your father? Another Facebook user responded: Graduate from Covenant work in Chevron, Shell, First Bank; Graduate from Unilorin work as MMM agent, 7up distributor. How wise is your generation? (MMM is a Ponzi scheme that was popular some years ago in Nigeria. It has long disbanded. 7up is a soda drink manufactured in Nigeria). This joke can be said to be a topical one covering hot issues in Nigeria such as public versus private university education, graduate employability, unemployment rate and Ponzi schemes. And another 2-person joke: First tweeter: "Kanye was really testing God when he was saying he is a God not small "g" but big "G" God now he is running mad for trying God". And the responding tweeter, "Special Assistant to

the Most High on blasphemy-related offences. Tell us more". On SNSs, there is always more that can be told.

Hilarious epic reply to a public announcement...lol

PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT!!!
Please leave people's men alone. Find your own.
Kind regards.
Management.
Halla
Who said we want to be left alone? Speak for your man please.

A screenshot from Twitter featured on Linda Ikeji's Blog (LIB)

HYBRIDITY IN BLOGS

Layiwola (2010) once pointed out that, "The world around us is growing more complex by the day; reality is changing or mutating at an amazing speed, such that the language and images to represent that reality must continue to mutate with it. In the process, boundaries are bound to emerge and re-emerge" (p. 17).

A most notable place to observe the changing world is the average social network site (SNS), where relationship, community, privacy and a host of other words with erstwhile clear meanings have taken on new connotations to reflect this mutation-invoking environment. Due to these changes, boundaries do not only emerge and re-emerge, but they also shift and become blurry. It is for this reason that the mass finds a home in the folk and the folk in the mass.

Going by the fact that SNSs are "dynamic webs of discourses" and "zones of contestation" (Howard, 2008:200), as well as sites of neologisms, they ensure that "national, mass and folk culture provide both mill and grist for one another" (Appadurai and Breckenride, 1995:5). The dynamism of culture ensures the

possibility of cultures feeding off one another. More often than not, groups of folks combine to form nations and a mass of people; hence the natural occurrence of all three providing mill and grist for one another. When elements of one occur in another the result is a hybrid. Howard (2008) talks of the degrees of hybridity between the vernacular and the institutional, noting that any number of mass media objects can become embedded in vernacular discourses, just as vernacular objects can find their way into mass media discourses. All three blogs displayed this tendency in the three months that they were studied. There were stories culled from the mass media as well as stories from SNSs. As is the case with the hybrid, some attributes are more prominent than the others and for the blogs under study, each one of them demonstrated leanings more toward either the vernacular or the institutional.

Although scholars have noted the softening of news stories to indicate the blurring boundaries between hard news and soft news, there still seems to be a general consensus about the nature of hard news (Reinemann, Stanyer, Scherr and Legnante, 2012; Harcup and O'Neill, 2016). Hard news stories are those featuring rich and powerful personalities as well as events of great magnitude and such stories were posted from to time on the three blogs. Sometimes the bloggers quoted mainstream newspapers and news magazines as their sources; at other times they did not refer to any source, leaving one to wonder if they have journalists who go out to gather news stories. LIB can be safely regarded as mostly vernacular. However, its posts titled "99% of Rice smuggled into the country not fit for consumption- CG Customs", "Late Dọra Akunyili's daughter, Njideka Crosby is expecting her first child with American husband" and "Confusion in Ejigbo as Lagos State government demolishes 2,000 shanties in Jakande Estate" were credited to *The Guardian*, *The Guardian UK*, and *The Guardian* newspapers respectively. There was also a story, more a human interest one ("Hotelier arrested for enlisting young girls into prostitution"), credited to *The Guardian*. The different stories from institutional sources gives LIB a different coloration from the majorly vernacular impression that one has of it. It shows that it is not totally vernacular.

With its preoccupation of helping people with career and entrepreneurship advice, Jarus Hub takes a decidedly institutional stance. Career and entrepreneurship are both institutional labels for the avenue through which a person finds gainful employment. Most of the entries in the blog had institutional undertones and overtones, given that they were written by people who belonged to one institution or the other (e.g. Jumia Travel) and they were about institutional norms such as job interviews, writing a CV, writing an exam etc. However, there were also entries on unconventional activities (e.g. "Career Advice: A Letter to My 25 Year Old Self", "Career Dilemma of an Accounting Graduate with Passion for Writing", "Seun Osewa vs Linda Ikeji: Between Nigeria's King and Queen of the Social Media" etc.) These entries, although rather vernacular in title, had a considerable bit of the institutional in their full body, coming across as assertive and emphatic, much like institutional discourses often are. The blog made good use

of clickbaiters, i.e. headlines that are intended to persuade readers to read the whole story and not necessarily inform them of what the story is about (Isani, 2011). Examples of such clickbaits on the blog include "7 Kinds of People You Find in a Nigerian Office", "How to Become Part of the 1%?", and one with a play on words: "Whither Twitter".

As for Geek Blog, it is as vernacular as it is institutional; its entry titles suggest this. It is not surprising that this is the case because the subject matter of the blog calls for it. Technological know-how is an institutional as well as vernacular matter. It is institutional because more often than not organisations are in charge of the creation and the marketing of new gadgets, applications and software. Technology is also vernacular because it is such an integral part of the average person's life. Thus, Geek contained entries like "Got an iPhone? Manage Your iOS Files Better with WinX Media Trans", "SpotCam HD Eva: Bringing Ease of Use, Affordability and Advanced Features Together!", "Tecno Phantom 6 Plus Full Review: Raw Power Meets Classy Build", "Get for Free These 10 Paid Software Programmes from WonderFox", "Things to Look Out for in a VPN Provider" and "I Just Tried Duet Display on My iPad Air 2 and MacBook Pro and I Love It". Some of these titles even sound like adverts but technology enthusiasts (and indeed enthusiasts of anything) can be quite loyal ambassadors who then speak for both the institution and the community of consumers. A lot of the entries also contained some jargon that will be known only to a select few who are members of the folk community where the jargon carries some meaning.

Referring to other websites, especially SNSs, also creates some hybrid of form, particularly when screen grabbing is involved. A screenshot reminds a reader that he is being momentarily taken out of the space of the blog to witness the happenings in some other online space. He essentially visits the other space right there on the blog but the message is mediated by the blog. The hybridity witnessed here is one that reminds us of the permutations in the communication and interaction activity as occasioned by blogs and other social network sites. They all feed off one another and impose their own styles on the others once they have been successfully transferred to a home turf. For instance, when LIB or Geek Blog or Jarus Hub posts a screenshot of a conversation from Twitter, a reader can only witness the conversation within the confines of that screenshot. A blogger may not be able to screen grab the totality of all the tweets about a discussion and this means that the blog reader can only be privy to the few tweet the blogger was able to capture in the shot. Occasionally, bloggers post series of screenshots to make up for this, but if the average blog reader wishes to witness the entirety of the tweets and even be part of the conversation, he has to go to the originating platform. Because the blog is not designed to facilitate tweeting therefore, readers have to relate to the tweets within the confines of the blog platform. Tweets thus become pictures that can only be looked at but not contributed to. Readers may comment on them in the comments section under their entry, but they are not able to take part in the original conversation. Blog readers who view screenshots of other SNSs

on blogs are more or less passive consumers of the contents of the SNSs–they can only see and not be seen, unlike those who are actually on the platforms. Bloggers therefore create a hybrid use of their blogs and the other SNSs.

CONCLUSION

References to SNSs feature prominently, most especially in Lind Ikeji's Blog (LIB), but they are not the only content sources for bloggers. However, the viability of blogs may be somewhat more assured by their constant allusion to the more interactive SNSs, because much more than these blogs whose comments sections were not very robust, the SNSs are "dynamic webs of discourses" and "zones of contestation" (Howard, 2008:200). Nonetheless, there may be need to review the traditional categorization of folklore to make room for the various manifestations of the folk process in new media. Many of the folk manifestations on SNSs do not have apt labels in the present scholarly classifications in the folklore genre. Or perhaps what we can most identify in the new media as regards vernacularity are folk processes much more than the lore (James, 2010). Be that as it may, the archival function of blogs becomes apparent when we consider that although all the posts they lift from SNSs can be viewed on the SNSs themselves, the average reader is not likely to collect these posts and store them. Although the bloggers take the SNSs contents out of their original domains thereby decontextualizing them, they recontextualize them on the blogs where they are further engaged.

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THE ROLE OF SCHOLARS OF THE BULGARIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE CONVENTION FOR THE SAFEGUARDING OF THE INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE (2003 CONVENTION) IN BULGARIA

MILA SANTOVA

ABSTRACT

The scholars of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences who are experts in the area of the intangible cultural heritage have an important role to play in laying down the parameters and ensuring the implementation of the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003 Convention). Their expertise has been conducive to the first steps made by Bulgaria in that area, as well as to any subsequent action undertaken in that respect in both a national and an international context.

Keywords: Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, Bulgarian experts, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.

The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003 Convention) adopted by the UNESCO General Conference on October 17, 2003, entered into force for Bulgaria, pursuant to the provisions of its Art. 34, on April 20, 2006 (https://ich.unesco.org/doc/src/00009-BG-PDF.pdf). On June 27 through 29, 2006, Hall XII of the UNESCO Headquarters in Paris was the venue for the first session of its General Assembly (Art. 4.1 of the 2003 Convention – http://www.unesco.org/eri/la/convention.asp?KO=17116&language=E). That forum structured for the first time the governing bodies and directed the mode of operation of the 2003 Convention, in pursuance of its Chapter II: Organs of the Convention. By June 2006, 52 countries around the world had ratified, accepted, approved or acceded to the Convention (today, their number is close to 200) and had acquired the status of states parties (https://ich.unesco.org/fr/les-etats-parties-00024). Having deposited its instruments of accession with the UNESCO Director General on March 10, 2006, Bulgaria turned out to be the 38th such state party

(Ibid.). For this country, the Convention was ratified by a law enacted by the 40th National Assembly on January 26, 2006 (*State Gazette*, No. 12/ 7.02.2006); its full text was published by the Ministry of Culture and promulgated in *State Gazette* (SG No. 61/28.07.2006). The Convention is in force and effect for the Republic of Bulgaria as from June 10, 2006 (https://ich.unesco.org/doc/src/00009-BG-PDF.pdf – footnote 1).

On account of the fact that, as was mentioned above, 30 sets of instruments of ratification, acceptance, approval or accession had already been deposited by January 20, 2006, the Convention took effect for the world on April 20, 2006 (http://www.unesco.org/eri/la/convention.asp?KO=17116&language=E, footnote 1). This fulfills the provision of Art. 34 of the Convention, namely that: [the] *Convention shall enter into force three months after the date of the deposit of the thirtieth instrument of ratification, acceptance, approval or accession, but only with respect to those States that have deposited their respective instruments of ratification, acceptance, approval, or accession on, or before, that date. It shall enter into force with respect to any other State Party three months after the deposit of its instrument of ratification, acceptance, approval or accession.* (https://ich.unesco.org/doc/src/00009-BG-PDF.pdf). Irrespective of the fact that Bulgaria deposited its instruments at a later date than the first 30 countries, it ended up in the group of states having the status of states parties prior to the date of convening the first General Assembly in Paris towards the end of June. Thus Bulgaria joined the states parties to the Convention as one of the participating countries in that first General Forum. Moreover, it was at that Forum that the country was elected member of the First Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage.

Of course, the participation of Bulgaria in the constituent forum of the 2003 Convention convened by UNESCO was not just a matter of a mere coincidence of dates. By 2006, Bulgaria had already done things that serve as evidence of this country's strong commitment to that subject matter. The credit for that should go, on the one hand, to our cultural diplomacy, represented by the National Commission for UNESCO, and on the other, to the expertise of researchers, concentrated in the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, specifically in the Institute of Folklore, which had until then existed as a stand-alone body. Working in synergy, those two entities established a competent presence on behalf of Bulgaria in the processes taking place in the sphere of the intangible cultural heritage during the late 20th-early 21st century.

Here I should recall that this was the time when the international community was gradually starting to formulate, in a process of debate, the semantic scope of the intangible cultural heritage while, in actuality, thoroughly re-formulating the semantic scope of what is generally considered to constitute cultural heritage by including in its content cultural phenomena (later summarily designated as elements) that were radically different in substance from what had primarily been

seen as such until then: movable and immovable tangible monuments, artefacts. For its part, this provided us with a reason to elaborate, update and focus our reflection on the agents and subject matter of that heritage, of what exactly should be protected and how, and so on, and so forth.

As a consequence of a proposal made by Bolivia, in the second part of the 1980s UNESCO initiated an international expert survey on matters of folklore (the English term for what the French call 'traditional and popular culture'). One aim of that survey was to paint a broad picture of the kinds of content that different national traditions assign to that concept. The Bulgarian expert team (scholars from the Institute of Folklore of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences) was actively represented in that process. The prospect of assigning a special place for folklore in what was generally recognized as cultural heritage in that period was already outlining the need for the, by then, highly relevant interdisciplinary approaches, so the BAS scholars active in that field were already in a position to offer their own prior experience on the matter, proceeding from the notion of folklore as a system of artistic expression, and later on, as a system of cultural expression (Zhivkov 1975; Zhivkov 1977). Thus, for example, proceeding from the premise of the systemic nature of culture/folklore, the Bulgarian party then insisted on including into the scope of protection not just traditional music, dance, oral expressions etc., but also the knowledge and skills related to arts and crafts – a specific area of human activity that later on found its proper place in the language of the 2003 Convention, notably Art. 2: Definitions as a whole and more specifically, Art. 2.2. Thus it turned out that the expert capacity concentrated in the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences were 'working' for the 2003 Convention even before the very idea of, and possibility for, having such a convention had appeared directly on the world's agenda.

As a consequence of those dialogs, both at expert level and in the area of international cultural policies, however, the international community ultimately made a very important step in adopting the first internationally recognized document dealing with the preservation of folklore: the 1989 UNESCO Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore (Santova 1990). By virtue of that document, the international community upholds, for the first by universal consensus, the unambiguously formulated notion of the cultural value of folklore and the need for its preservation, albeit in a purely tentative, non-binding sense.

Irrespective of the complex political situation in the late 1980s-early 90s, the Bulgarian experts in the field of folklore/the intangible cultural heritage remained active through their participation in international dialog. During the early to mid-1990s, scholars from the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences were active participants in the regional meetings of experts from Central and Eastern Europe held in Strašice, the Czech Republic. Those were expert sessions that not only discussed theoretical and methodological aspects of that subject matter (e.g. the need for a

code of ethics, the commercialization of culture etc.), but started talking ever more insistently of the need for a Convention to deal with all that (Santova 1995, 1997; Santova 1996). Although in those years international dialogs on the subject were still in their nascent stage, the topics were successfully raised and debates on them rekindled by Bulgarian academics with expertise in the field. It were those experts, with their by then relatively substantial body of knowledge and experience, that participated in the 1990s Regional Meetings organized by the UNESCO Secretariat to discuss the implementation of the Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore in different countries[1]. Thus, at that early stage of the establishment of the idea of safeguarding the intangible cultural heritage (ICH), the expert team of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences was an active traveler along the common path of the UNESCO member states that eventually led to the adoption of the 2003 Convention.

Meanwhile, on account of the different semantic content assigned to it in individual national traditions, the idea gradually emerged of replacing the notion of *folklore* and/or *traditional popular culture* (as the French version goes) with the semantically neutral term *intangible cultural heritage* (ICH). Two crucially important international fora contributed in a decisive manner to adopting such a change in terminology. One was the International Conference on *'A Global Assessment of the 1989 Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore'*, held in Washington DC in 1999 (Conférence), which decided *... to retain the term 'intangible cultural heritage' instead of 'folklore'* (L'élaboration). And the other, the Round Table held in Turin, Italy, in 2001 with the aim of proposing an operational definition of the term *intangible cultural heritage*. The Round Table did formulate a new definition for ICH, relating it to *human creativity* (http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?pg=00015&categ=2002-1993). This cleared the road towards intangible cultural heritage!

In practical terms, the expert potential of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences participated both directly and indirectly in these processes by deliberating on methodological issues as well as on matters of the cultural polices, while the application of that combined expertise had its national and international parameters.

In the 1990s, Bulgarian experts, actively supported by the National Commission for UNESCO, began working on a larger-scale task called 'Archive of Authentic Balkan Folklore Databases'. The experts from the Bulgarian Academy initiated and conducted a series of meetings with their colleagues from the Balkan region, discussed and developed the relevant software, etc. The work done in fulfillment of that objective, although for various reasons it failed to produce a separate Balkan archive, has been extremely useful as it laid the foundation for the Bulgarian National Inventory of ICH. Work on that took place in 2001-2002, thus

[1] Bulgaria participated in the Regional Meeting held at Veliki Novgorod, Russia, in September 1999 (Santova 2000).

coinciding in time with the final touches being put on the language of the *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* itself, adopted in its final form by the General Conference of UNESCO in the autumn of 2003 (the 2003 Convention). In late 2002, the Inventory was officially recognized and adopted by the Bulgarian State, represented by its Minister of Culture. By predating UNESCO's adoption of the 2003 Convention by about a year, the Bulgarian National Inventory of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (http://www.treasuresbulgaria.com/; Santova et al. 2004) ended up being the *first such document in Europe*. Art. 12 of the 2003 Convention explicitly calls for such national inventories to be compiled and for ICH safeguarding procedures to be put in place. Actually, by means of the National Inventory (*inventaire* – Fr.) of ICH compiled by the academic experts at the dawn of the 21st century, Bulgaria turned out to be *one of the first countries in the world* to have fulfilled the provision of Art. 12. Moreover, as a result of the efforts of the experts from the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, this country has acquired an important tool for the implementation of the 2003 Convention. The Inventory, as it is today, with the prospects for its being periodically updated with new items, constitutes one of the key cultural policies of Bulgaria in the field of ICH. The Inventory is uploaded onto the official website of the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Bulgaria (http://www.treasures-bulgaria.com/).

The National Inventory is divided into several thematic areas organized around different cultural activities (Santova et al. 2004) and structured on the basis of the elements included in it. As is known, the elements listed in the National Inventory of ICH are itemized at typological level. This means that if, for instance, in region X the *horo* (circle dance) Y is performed in the villages A, B and C, it is the element '*horo* Y' that is listed on a separate item line for 'region X', not the villages where it is performed or the people performing it.

What sets the National Inventory apart from other such attempts and listing cultural properties is the manner of inclusion of the human individual. Were we to choose an approach towards the structuring on the Inventory focused on the practitioners/bearers of ICH, that would imply that the human individual would be personified: only such and such person(s) would be listed in the Inventory as the performer(s)/practitioner(s) of such and such an element. In an elements-based approach, the human individual is more or less depersonalized: it is the element that is placed in the focus, with the skills for its performance being implicitly included, too, as something that may and does happen involving different persons, provided that they meet the respective requirements.

In the latter case, among the primary concerns of the State for the safeguarding of ICH should be its subtly enabling support for the transmission of the relevant skill for the purpose of training individuals (the coming generations) to be able to meet the requirements for the performance of that element recognized by the State as important through its inclusion in the Inventory.

A key cultural policy of the Bulgarian State in the field of ICH, the National Inventory enables a range of relationships with other cultural policies of this country in the same area. Such relationships have been developed at conceptual level by the experts of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and are being implemented by the Bulgarian State through its Ministry of Culture. Here are some of them:

The presence of any given element in the Inventory is a condition precedent for:

– the inclusion of the element in the National System of 'Living Human Treasures Bulgaria';

– the inscription of the element in the National Representative List of elements of the intangible cultural heritage;

– applying for support from the programs of the National Culture Fund related to the intangible cultural heritage, as well as in a broader context;

– nomination of the element by the Bulgarian State for inscription on the UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity, in accordance with a set of rules adopted by the Intergovernmental Committee and the General Assembly.

Another key cultural policy of Bulgaria in that sphere involves the development by the academic experts and the establishment in this country by its Ministry of Culture of a *National System of 'Living Human Treasures'*. Those active in the field of the intangible cultural heritage are aware that the title of *Living Human Treasure* (see: Kit of the Convention) has been borrowed from practices in the Far East. If we add those peoples' respect for their intangible cultural heritage, we could say that the similarities end here. Because the proposal developed by the experts, which Bulgaria has formally adopted, constitutes in reality a fully deployed practical approach to the compiling of a National Representative List of elements of ICH.

And if, as was mentioned before, the Inventory is structured based on inclusion in it of certain elements, then the territorial scope of their practitioners/ bearers is the National System of 'Living Human Treasures Bulgaria' (LHT-B) (http://mc.government.bg/reg/index.php?act=content&do=detailed&rec=670). As I already pointed out, the National System is the other key Bulgarian cultural policy conceptually and methodologically developed by academic experts of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and adopted and implemented by the State through its Ministry of Culture.

It is an obvious fact that the two key cultural policies of Bulgaria in the area of ICH are mutually complementary, encompassing in their field of application the entire cycle of creation and existence of ICH through the link creator-element.

The National System was launched as a pilot project for a National Program in late 2007. The first five nation-wide nominations were completed in 2008; those ended up being the first elements inscribed on the *National Representative List of elements of the intangible cultural heritage*.

The National System of *Living Human Treasures Bulgaria* (http://mc.government.bg/reg/index.php?act=content&do=detailed&rec=670; Georgieva 2008) allows for nominations in the area of ICH to be made once every two years within the boundaries of Bulgaria, typically by *chitalishta* (local cultural centers) or regional museums, with the support of the local government structures active in the field of culture. The Bulgarian system is based on the eponymous pilot project launched by UNESCO, but with its own specificities, notably the fact that its sessions, conducted every two years, result in elements being inscribed on the *National Representative List of elements of the intangible cultural heritage*. Pursuant to the established rules, those elements should already have been listed in the *National Inventory of ICH*. The application forms specifically developed for the purpose by the experts contain a special box where the nominating entity must mandatorily enter the area (sphere), as per the National Inventory of ICH, within whose parameters the nomination is being made.

The selection of elements for the system takes place in two rounds: regional and national. The former results in a short list of 28 nominations, one for each of the 28 administrative districts of the country (the existing administrative division is used in order to facilitate the process of coordination at national level). Then follows the latter round which ultimately selects five nominations for inscription on the *National Representative List of elements of the intangible cultural heritage*. The five elements thus selected are issued with certificates of their status as being on that list, and their bearers/practitioners stand to receive material incentives provided by the State, i.e. the Ministry of Culture. According to the established practice since the earliest such inscriptions, these are funds provided (subject to a special contract with the practitioners or the nominating entity) mostly for enabling the successful transmission of the element to the next generation. The certificates and the funds involved are handed to the winning entrants in a ceremony by the Minister of Culture or an official designated by him/her.

Sessions are convened as part of the system every even year. The nominated elements are presented by their respective practitioners.

Now is the time to point out that the academic expertise of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences is structured in an Expert Council for ICH with the Institute for Ethnology and Folklore Studies with Ethnographic Museum, which is part of BAS. That council is the body that in actuality developed both key cultural policies of Bulgaria; it is also responsible for discussing different issues, including ones related to individual matters of expertise raised by the State (the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs).

The academic expertise of BAS has participated as a key player and one of the implementers of a number of other steps pertinent to the implementation of the 2003 Convention in Bulgaria, which can roughly be divided into administrative and involving expertise proper. I shall briefly mention these below.

Administrative steps:

– the academic experts were the ones who formulated and reasoned the need for setting up a Regional Center for Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in South-Eastern Europe under the Auspices of UNESCO, based in Sofia (https://www.unesco-centerbg.org/), an institution that continues to operate successfully to this day;

– the creation of the National Center for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (http://iefem.bas.bg/%d0%bd%d0%b0%d1%86%d0%b8%d0%be%d0%bd%d0%b0%d0%bb%d0%b5%d0%bd-%d1%86%d0%b5%d0%bd%d1%82%d1%8a%d1%80-%d0%b7%d0%b0-%d0%bd%d0%b5%d0%bc%d0%b0% d1%82%d0%b5%d1%80%d0%b8%d0%b0%d0%bb%d0%bd%d0%be-%d0%ba%d1%83.html) based at the Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Studies with Ethnographic Museum with the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences has been the exclusive product of that academic expertise; the Center likewise operates successfully today, coordinating the work of the national expertise and maintaining the Archive of ICH;

– another idea and product of the academic expertise is the ongoing work for building a network of Local Centers for the Intangible Cultural Heritage, An important aspect of those is that they are being set up with the joint participation of the Ministry of Culture and the local communities.

Expert steps:

– at national level, mention is due above all to the *National Council for the Intangible Cultural Heritage*, established in 2006 under the Minister of Culture (and successor to the erstwhile *National Folklore Council*) in direct relation to Art, 43 (1) of the Cultural Heritage Act (CHA - http://www.lex.bg/bg/laws/ldoc/2135623662). The composition and functions of that body are determined by a set of Rules promulgated in State Gazette (Rules of the Composition, Functions and Activity of the National Council for the Intangible Cultural Heritage under the Minister of Culture. Published by the Ministry of Culture, promulgated in State Gazette No. 45/18.05.2013). Members of the academic team of experts specializing in different areas of ICH participate on a regular basis in the deliberations of the Council;

– the already mentioned Expert Council for the Intangible Cultural Heritage based at the Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Studies with Ethnographic Museum with the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, which joins together the experts who take credit for developing the methodology of the key cultural policies in Bulgaria.

Of course, the expert work of the BAS team of scholars has not only national but international parameters as well. I shall mention here just two activities with both a national and an international impact.

Firstly, in 2007 is was the Academy's team of experts that initiated the convening in Bulgaria of a *Seminar for Experts in the Area of the Intangible Cultural Heritage from South-Eastern Europe* (Stanoeva 2007), which took place between the 15th and 20th of June, 2007, in the village of Arbanasi near Veliko

Tarnovo. Participating in the seminar were experts from 9 countries in South-Eastern Europe, and the outcome of their joint work was the setting up in the region of an *Network of Experts in Intangible Cultural Heritage*. The Network remains fully functional today, conducting annual expert meetings, and operates under the joint auspices of the Regional Center for ICH and the Venice Bureau of UNECO (See Nalbantyan-Hacheryan 2008, 2009, 2009a). In this case it would be interesting to know that the *Network of Experts in Intangible Cultural Heritage*, created at the initiative of BAS experts in 2007, turned up to be the first such network in the world, which over the years has built a solid following on the part of the international college of ICH scholars.

No less important in terms of the implementation of the 2003 Convention by Bulgaria is the work of experts on the visibility of the elements of ICH in a national as well as international context. With a single exception, all nomination files compiled in this Country in respect of Bulgarian ICH elements that were eventually inscribed on the UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, as well as in the Register of Good Practices, were prepared by experts of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.

In conclusion: the work of the team of experts from the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences has been of vital importance for the efforts of the Bulgarian State for the implementation in Bulgaria of the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. In many cases that expert body, as well as its proposals made both in terms of methodology and with respect to cultural policies, has been playing and plays a significant role for the adoption of certain concrete measures for the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage adopted by the Bulgarian State[2].

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IN OR OUT OF THE TAIGA, WITH OR WITHOUT REINDEER: RESETTLEMENT AND THE CHANGING LIFE AND CULTURE OF THE AOLUGUYA EWENKI

HANG LIN

ABSTRACT

In 2003 the Ewenki of Aoluguya, Inner Mongolia, were relocated to a purpose-built settlement as "ecological migrants", justified on the grounds of environmental protection and social development. Although many Ewenki herders are increasingly attracted to the lifestyle offered by regional centers of urbanization, others interpreted the relocation as an attack on the traditional lifeworld, with a number of the Ewenki moving back to the forest where they reside in five major campsites. Together with the changing way of living and the increasing importance of tourism as a revenue source, indigenous cultural practices have declined, including shamanistic performances, traditional medicinal use, and traditional dress, whereas the incidence of alcoholism has increased. By analyzing the specifics of Ewenki reindeer herding and domestication, concentrating in particular on how reindeer shaped the economic and religious lifeworld, this article explores to what extent did their distance to the reindeer and the increasing importance of tourism changed their indigenous way of economic, social, and religious living. Through an examination of the enormous influence of the 2003 relocation, it further explores the multi-dimensional interaction between environment, human, and animal, and by doing so probes into the complex relationship between environmental change and adaptability of ethnic culture.

Keywords: Aoluguya, cultural dilemma, ecological migration, ethnic culture, Ewenki, reindeer herding.

The taiga mountains of the Greater Khingan Range, China's largest continuous area of primitive forest, is home to the Manchu-Tungusic Ewenki people of Aoluguya and their reindeer. For centuries, the Ewenki in the area have preserved their way of living as reindeer herders. As the only reindeer herders in China, the forest-dwelling Ewenki kept small herds of domesticated reindeer and

used them for milking, riding, and carrying loads. As their major livelihood source and partner, the reindeer have allowed the Ewenki to maintain a mobile lifestyle dictated by their seasonal hunting and herding activities, offering enormous symbolic as well as practical value (Fondahl 1998: 3). However, after the local government undertook to resettle the Ewenki as "ecological migrants" (*shengtai yimin* 生态移民) to a new town in 2003, they suddenly became the focus of public interest both in and outside China.

The resettlement was presented to the Ewenki of Aoluguya with a promise from the government that they would no longer need to live in the forest, since in the new town they and their reindeer would be provided for (Wu 2003). Not long after the relocation, however, the reindeer began to fall ill and die due to a lack of food. Some Ewenki herders felt that they had no choice but to return to the mountains along with their reindeer. However, given that the new town provided the necessary living facilities and schools for their children, these herders did not completely vacate the settlement but chose to move back and forth between the town and the forest camps where they would herd. On the other hand, a growing number of the Ewenki have begun to move away from reindeer herding and gradually adopt a sedentary way of life, taking up service industry jobs centering around tourism.

Even before the 2003 resettlement, the Aoluguya Ewenki had already attracted both domestic and international scholarly attention as the only reindeer herders in China. In their pioneering ethnographic accounts of the reindeer Tungus in Manchuria (today's Aoluguya Ewenki), Sergei Mikhailovich Shirokogoroff (Chin.: Shi Luguo 史禄国, 1887–1939) (1929, 1935) and Ethel J. Lindgren (1935, 1938, 1939) had respectively produced in-depth documents on the Ewenki way of living and their trade with the Cossack farmers. The hitherto most comprehensive study of the history and ethnography of the Aoluguya Ewenki is provided by Kong Fanzhi (1994), who has meticulously traced their move to the old Aoluguya and charted their herding system and indigenous cultural practices. After the Ewenki's story became known to the world in 2003, there has been a growing body of literature focusing on the relocation: Based on extensive fieldworks from 2008 to 2009, Huang Jianying (2009) has produced a detail account of the Ewenki's living conditions in the new settlement. Xie Yuanyuan (2005, 2010, 2015), on the other hand, vividly describes the resettlement process and offeres an analysis of the role of the local government in the move. Richard Fraser (2010) and Åshild Kolås (2011) focus on the varied opinions of the central government, the local authorities, and the Ewenki themselves regarding the move. Aurore Dumont (2015, 2017) also focuses on the role of the authorities in the changed life pattern of the Ewenki and further examines their mobility and exchange networks in the new settlement. A recent volume, edited by Åshild Kolås and Xie Yuanyuan (2015), is devoted to the

efforts of the Ewenki to reclaim their forest-dwelling lifestyle and the changed herding organization in the forest.

These inspiring works have laid the cornerstone for our understanding of various aspects of the Ewenki relocation process, yet it remains largely neglected in the literature on the formidable dilemma caused by this resettlement, as to choose to embrace new urban life or to return to traditional herding in the forest, as well as how to deal with the arrival of modern popular culture and the eclipse of their indigenous customs. In particular, little attention has been paid to the changed human-natural environment relationships and the lifeworld of the Ewenki, which focuses on the peculiar and intimate relationships that exist between humans, reindeer, and the taiga itself. What were the relationships between the Ewenki and reindeer and how did such relationships shape the economic and religious lifeworld of the Ewenki? How did the resettlement effect their physical and spiritual distance to the reindeer? In what way did this changed distance, together with the increasing importance of tourism, transform their indigenous way of economic, social, and religious living? To tackle these questions, this paper combines results of fieldworks conducted in Aoluguya between 2011 and 2017 to analyze the influence of reindeer herding and domestication on the Ewenki's culture and way of living. By tracing their resettlements in the past decades, with a particular focus on the 2003 relocation, it explores the resettlements' tremendous impacts, together with the consequent growth in tourism, on the way of living and ethnic culture of the Ewenki. By doing so, it aims to explore the multi-dimensional interactions and complex relationships between environment, human, and animal.

REINDEER HERDING AND TRADITIONAL ETHIC EWENKI CULTURE

In their own language, the name Ewenki means "the people who live deep in the mountains." The Aoluguya branch of the Ewenki originated in the region around Lake Baikal and moved to live in the forests north of the Amur River some 300 years ago (Kong 1994: 35–36; Neimenggu zizhiqu bianjizu 2009: 129). Whereas most Ewenki people in China, namely the Solon and the Khamnigan Ewenki, have settled down in agrarian and pastural areas, the Aoluguya Ewenki tribe began to breed reindeer as early as the 17th century.

Whereas the large-scale reindeer ranchers of Scandinavia and northern Siberia reside in tundra areas and live off the meat of large herds of reindeer, the Aoluguya Ewenki, similar to other reindeer herding peoples such as the Soyot of Buryatia, the Tofalar of Irkutsk Oblast, and the Tsaatan of Mongolia, practice reindeer husbandry by raising small herds in the taiga as pack and riding animals for their milk, relying on wild game as their principal source of food.[1] The Ewenki

[1] On their way of living and use of reindeer, see Donahoe and Kyrgyz 2003: 12.

reindeer are used to being saddled and either ridden or burdened with a pack, and their cows are used to being milked. They are tamer than their tundra counterparts, thus allowing for a closer relationship between the herder and herd. In fact, the Ewenki reindeer are dependent on specialized technologies that require intensive contact with humans, such as firing smoke to protect them against biting insects, provision of salt, and protection from predators.

Such way of herding has a long history, as the Ewenki initially viewed the reindeer is a means of food reserve to offset the uncertainty of game acquisition. In the process of domestication, however, they gradually recognized other characteristics of the reindeer. First, the reindeer foraging migration in the forest is consistent with the lifestyle of the Ewenki hunters. In order to match the reindeer's migration habits, the Ewenki people follow a relatively fixed migration route in roughly a one-year cycle (Lin 2018: 6). With reindeer by their side, the hunters can easily obtain a better harvest–the reindeer attract their natural enemies, the target of the Ewenki hunters.

Secondly, the reindeer has a high load capacity and is an important tool for packing and riding. Its large hooves allow it to walk on the marsh without much difficulty, and even through bushes and mountain rocks. A single adult reindeer can carry about 40 kg of goods and walk 5-6 km per hour for 10 hours. When equipped with a sledge, a reindeer can draw up to 160 kg, far exceeding the capacity of cattle and horses, which enable their herders to carry their households and freely move about in the large forest (Zhao 1975: 25). Together with the hound, the reindeer are the herders' most important help-meets. As an old Ewenki saying goes: "There is a reindeer and a hound. It is especially labor-saving when hunting. The reindeer can ride the game while the hound prevents the beast from escaping. It is convenient for the hunter in the mountains and forests" (Abenqian 2015: 46).

Being a hoofed species uniquely adapted to the tundra and taiga areas, the reindeer are able to venture far during the winter to search for lichen, their principal food. Thanks to their extraordinary olfactory sense, the reindeer can smell the lichen and even scoop their food from the snow. While they do not need to be fed or driven to pasture land, the reindeer do rely on their herders to acquire salt. Despite their fondness for salt, it is not a local product easily accessible to the reindeer. The Ewenki can easily summon their herds by tapping the salt bag, since upon hearing the sound, the reindeer would return to the campsite from afar and compete for their favorite refreshment (Kong 1994: 176). Before their departure for the next campsite, the herders would feed the reindeer with salt in advance; this way the herds would become more docile and their endurance will be greatly increased.

In spring, reindeer cows give birth to calves. Throughout the summer, the herds return to the encampment every day so that the herders' smoky fire would protect them from insect bites. The Ewenki herders pile up thick logs to set up a wooden frame and ignite a layer of yellow-green wet lichen to produce this smoke.

As the smoke rises, the reindeer gather around the smoke to take refuge from mosquitos and midges. The herders keep watch over the smoke and regularly add wood and lichen to the fire, ensuring that it doesn't burn out until the reindeer have had sufficient rest (Tang 1998: 92). Typically, both Ewenki men and women engage in herding activities: men manage the herds, organize moving, cut wood, and cut off the antlers; and women are responsible for making food, looking after calves, and milking.

In this way, the herders and herds together form a reindeer-pastoralism necessitating intimate human-reindeer relations, which Florian Stammler and Hugh Beach term "symbiotic domestication" (2006: 8). As herders, the Ewenki provide salt to their animals while lighting smoke to deter biting insects. The reindeer rely on their herders for refreshment and, in doing so, seek interaction with human without coercion. With the assistance of shamans, the Ewenki herders perceive their world as a universe populated by spirits of various kinds.[2] While such view is on par with many Tungusic peoples in North Asia, what makes the Ewenki unique is their perception of the reindeer as the proper domain–in other words, the site from which the complex relationships between the sky, the earth, the taiga, the human, and other animals can be maintained.

Under the influence of such beliefs, the Ewenki even attribute to their reindeer characteristics typically reserved for humans. As Richard Fraser points out, when the reindeer are led back to the campsite, the herders would recount descriptions concerning their herds' experience from the perspective of the animals themselves (Fraser 2010: 335). In another instance, Joachim Otto Habeck records that an Ewenki sledge driver speaks of how his reindeer "listens well" and "obeys well" (Habeck 2006: 133). In emphasizing the animal's sensual perception, the herders characterize their herds as possessing their own personalities, thereby redefining human-reindeer relations. Yet as their living environment changes, such relations are also bound to change in accordance.

FROM THE FOREST TO NEW AOLUGUYA

Following the repeated incursions of Tsarist Russia into northeast Asia, a few groups of Ewenki reindeer herders crossed the Amur River between the late-18th and mid-19th centuries to settle in Qing Chinese territory (Heyne 2002). They remained anonymous to Qing authorities until the early 20th century while continuing to pay taxes to the Tsar and marry in the Orthodox tradition (Shirokogoroff 1929: 67-68). The Ewenki herders also engaged in regular trade with Cossack farmers, borrowing many Russian words that are still in use today,

[2] Similar opinions are also expressed by several interviewees in my conversation to them in 2016. For a discussion of the Ewenki world view and Shamanism among the community, see Heyne 1999.

including personal names.[3] While conducting fieldwork among Ewenki clans in the early 1930s, the anthropologist Ethel J. Lindgren noted that the area of their nomadic pasture was about 7000 km², covering a large territory along the Amur and Argun rivers on the current Sino-Russian border (Lindgren 1938: 609).

Although the Ewenki reindeer herders chose to remain on the southern banks of the Amur after the Russian Revolution, they only had very limited contacts with the Chinese state. In 1957, the first Ewenki "ethnic township" (*minzu xiang* 民族乡) was established in Qiqian, south of the Amur. The state recognized the medical effect of the antlers and collectivized the reindeer, yet they still remained under the care of the Ewenki herders and continued to live in taiga encampments (Lü 1983: 12). As Sino-Russian conflicts intensified in the early 1960s, the Chinese authorities grew uneasy about the Ewenki's Russian connection and sought to relocate and sedentarize them. In 1965, 35 Ewenki households and their 900 reindeer were moved southward to a newly built village named Aoluguya, which meant "flourishing aspen" in the Ewenki language (Nentwig 2003: 36). The settlement, with its wooden houses and antler-processing factory, would evolve into the principal domain of the community. Some herders began to find employment in other economic sectors, including the forest industry.

During the following two decades, reform policies promoted livestock business in Aoluguya, with the reindeer population peaking in the 1970s at more than 1080 animals. The 1980s' economic reforms saw the redistribution of 755 heads of reindeer to 24 Ewenki families in 1984. The antler industry remained under state control, in which a state-owned enterprise was responsible for processing and sale of the antlers in exchange for 20 percent of the profit (Huang 2009: 62; Beach 2003: 34). In doing so, the state attempted to turn small-scale reindeer herding into an industry of reindeer-breeding in the Soviet form of "production nomadism" (Vitebsky 1990: 348). It was also during this time that the grazing lands of the reindeer herders caught the attention of the rapidly growing forest industry, which resulted in appropriation of land by forestry authorities and gradual reduction of reindeer pastures. The deterioration of pastures and forests forced the government to take actions in the late 1990s. In 1996, hunting was brought to an end when firearms were confiscated. Two years later, following the nation-wide campaign to "Open Up the West" (*Xibu da kaifa* 西部大开发), the policy of "Converting Pasture to Forest" (*tuimu huanlin* 退牧还林) was deployed to "adopt settled residences and control livestock stocking rates" (Wu and Du 2008: 18). Finally in 2003, as China called for "ecological migration" to better protect the forests along the Greater Khingan Range, the local government resettled 62 Ewenki

[3] For examples of Russian words used by the Ewenki, see Dumont 2017: 524.

households and their reindeer 260 km southwards to Genhe and built a new township at its western outskirts, known as "New Aoluguya."

COMING BACK TO THE FOREST

The New Aoluguya town, only 4 km from the center of Genhe, consists of 31 chalet-style residence houses, 48 reindeer pens, an antler processing factory, a school (soon turned into a hotel), a museum, a government building, as well as medical and shopping facilities. This settlement was offered to the Ewenki herders as compensation for the relocation and the hunting ban (Xie 2005: 52). Following the plan drawn up by the Finnish consulting firm Pöyry, the houses are designed in the Finnish style and are all equipped with modern amenities such as running water and central heating. Each house is divided into two halves, one for each family.

The resettlement plan was presented to the Ewenki herders with a promise from the authorities that they would no longer need to move and hunt in the forest, because in the new town they and their reindeer would be provided for. According to the plan, the reindeer are to be hand-fed and kept permanently in enclosures outside the settlement. However, it overlooks the fact that although New Aoluguya is located in the taiga, it is too close to a city for lichen to grow. Moreover, the reindeer are not accustomed to the enclosures in which their moving space is considerably limited. As a result, within but weeks after the move, the reindeer began to fall ill and die (Xie 2005: 54; Kolås 2011: 398). Anger and despair spread among the herders as they realized that the government was incapable of restoring the health of their herds. They were forced to return to the forests where reindeer could find sufficient food. Thus only a short time after the relocation, many Ewenki, together with their reindeer, returned to live in the mountains.

Their life in the mountains and forests, however, has changed substantively. Currently there are six herding campsites that lie between Genhe and Alongshan town, from south to north along the railway line that connects Genhe to Mangui.[4] Located in the taiga off smaller logging paths that diverge from the main road, the campsite closet to Aoluguya is some 20 km away, while the farthest is more than 250 km. The size of the herds varies, with the smallest consists of 50 reindeer and the largest about 700 (Fraser 2010: 330). Each encampment has two to six tents, including the traditional cone-shaped tepee-tents known as *zuoluozi*, and modern ridge ones equipped with solar panels and wood-burning stoves (Dumont 2015: 88–89). Altogether some 50 Ewenki herders live and work in the taiga, only a small minority of them spend almost all of their time in the campsites. The

[4] The 24 herding families, to which the reindeer were assigned to in the decollectivization reform in 1984, formed five campsites. I was informed in my conversation with Pu Lingsheng in 2011 that Maria So's campsite, also the farthest from Aoluguya, was spilt into two in 2009.

majority of the herders stay only temporarily and visit the settlement on regular basis, primarily to purchase daily supplies, visit family and friends, and to deliver antler harvest. No bus service is available: once a month, the local government sends a car to take basic supplies such as vegetables to the campsites. For other necessities such as rice, oil, medicine, and alcohol, the herders need to ride motorcycles or hire taxi service.[5]

As the camps move around four times a year, a certain level of mobility continues to be an essential feature of Ewenki reindeer herding, yet their movement across the taiga is no longer an act of free choice. Even before 2003, the state has already established special zones for natural conservation (*ziran baohuqu* 自然保护区) in the forest, drastically reducing the area available for the herds to roam. As the forests are state-owned, the herders are required by environmental legislation to report the location of their campsites to the local forestry station (*linchang* 林场) responsible for overseeing their movement and stay within its confines. Consequently, although the Ewenki herders still view the forest as pasture and hunting ground, they now have to move with demarcated frontiers in mind and follow established routes allotted to them. Such boundaries, as Emily Yeh argues, expands state power by creating greater control over both the resources and the people within this sphere, thus restricting the mobility of the herders (Yeh 2005: 16). To compare, while Siberian Ewenki reindeer and their herders travel ca. 1000 km per year, the movements of Aoluguya Ewenki are far more limited, moving only 15-20 km annually.[6]

The herders themselves, too, have changed. Everyday life at the campsite revolves around the reindeer, with all tasks focusing on the husbandry enterprise. In many respects, such social relations between human and nature are consistent with the observations made long ago by Shirokogoroff and Lindgren (Shirokogoroff 1929; Lindgren 1933). However, unlike traditional campsites that were organized by clans, the new ones are run by individual families or several nuclear families together. After reindeer decollectivization in 1984, the reindeer are now privately owned, their pastoral activities are communally organized, including setting up the site, sharing firewood and salt, and most notably, antler cropping. The organization of herding labor, however, has made a decisive shift from a family-based model to a male-dominant one. Under this new model, men (some of whom do not own reindeer but are hired by the owners) have taken on women's traditional husbandry responsibilities such as cooking, tending animals, and milking. Women and children, on the other hand, stay almost permanently in the settlement or even in Genhe, where schools and other facilities are available.

[5] Most of the taxi drivers are Han-Chinese who worked in the Old Aoluguya and were thus familiar with the herders.

[6] On the movement of Siberian Ewenki, see Lavrillier 2011: 217.

With the ban on hunting and their economic reliance on antlers, the Ewenki's link to nature has accordingly shifted to a growing emphasis on herding. While previously reindeer were considered to be a pack animal that facilitated the Ewenki's hunting movements in the taiga, as their living equipment become more modernized and weighty, motorcycles and trucks have replaced the reindeer as the main means for riding and transporting (Dumont 2015: 84–86). Given the hunting ban, the reindeer–instead than the game–have become the primary reason for the herders to remain in the forest, since the forest is the only place which allows them to perpetuate their relations to the reindeer. In this way, the reciprocal relationship between the herder and the reindeer is again strengthened, in which the herders provide for their reindeer the necessary substance (e.g. lichen) and take the antlers from the reindeer in return. This relationship sustains the Ewenki concept of personhood and lifeworld, "not only for their movements in the landscape, but also for their sustenance and reproduction, their life and death" (Stammler and Beach 2006: 12).

Their love for and attachment to the taiga and the reindeer takes on an even greater significance when the herders at their campsites sing their traditional song:

> Dear friends,
> do you know where is the most beautiful place in the world?
> Please come to our unbounded forests,
> and take a look at the woods which are as many as the reindeer's fur,
> the mountains as green as emerald,
> and the lakes as bright as mirror.[7]

CHANGED LIFE AT NEW AOLUGUYA

During the migration project that lasted from August to September 2003, 62 Ewenki families (162 persons) were relocated to the New Aoluguya settlement. Each family was assigned a half of the residence house. In the state media, all the relocating Ewenki were described as "practicing" reindeer herders; however, only 24 families had received reindeer during the decollectivization reforms of 1984 and were herders in the true sense (Wu 2003). Such discrepancy is due to the fact that prior to the move, a number of Ewenki had already lost their connections to the reindeer lifeworld, some even before the 1984 reform. New Aoluguya became a Ewenki community, since all of its 162 residents are Ewenki: Their non-Ewenki neighbors in the old town, mostly Han-Chinese and Daur Mongols, either stayed put or had to look for new residence with compensation from the government.

[7] Translated from Liu 2010: 110. I heard a song, sung by Nurika in Ewenki, with quite similar lyrics in my visit to her home in 2017.

As aforementioned, the greatest impact of the move has been on those who are still connected to the reindeer, especially those herders and their family members who do not reside permanently in the campsites. Since almost all financial funding and living facilities are allocated to the new Aoluguya settlement, the government support that the herders receive is extremely limited, almost solely in forms of trucks that occasionally help them move in the forest. Next to a minimal amount of welfare allowance provided by the local government, the herders need to rely on their settlement-based families or services to deliver food and daily necessities and to sell the cropped antlers. In addition, they have to cope with the new challenge of dividing their time between the campsite and the settlement. As for their families, only few women reside in the campsites, typically because they maintain shops to sell antlers or their children attend schools in the settlement. In this sense, New Aoluguya has become an indispensable space in Ewenki life, since even though the reindeer are largely herded in forest campsites and not all Ewenki reside permanently in the settlement, it still functions as the administrative and herding headquarters by offering spaces for the herders' families and the sale of the antlers, thus acting as the connecting point in their changed life as "mobile reindeer herders" (Dumont 2015: 89).

However, New Aoluguya is far from an ideal base for the herders and their families. Although it has residence houses and reindeer pens, the settlement gives an impression of an artificial village as it lacks essential social and economic infrastructure such as schools, hospitals, and food stores. In fact, there are no commercial services apart from the tourism industry and very limited means for community interaction. Such tourism-oriented structure is not a design error nor a misapplication of the original plan, rather the intention of the authorities from the very start. The state's goal for the relocation, which is officially described as "ecological migration," is not only to restore the taiga environment but also to advance the economic well-being of the Ewenki community (Xie 2010: 100–110). In their funding proposal to the central administration, the local government explicitly emphasized the need for infrastructure modernization and economic growth (Huang 2009: 22). The local authorities introduced tourism into the new settlement as a way to modernize the Ewenki community and integrate them into the development scheme of the region.

With funding from the central government and technical assistance of the Finnish firm Pöyry, the settlement was to be transformed into "Aoluguya Ethnic Reindeer Resort," with the stated goal of "to preserve the Aoluguya cultural heritage and old livelihoods by turning the old skills and unique lifestyle into a tourism product" (Pöyry 2008:7). Under this plan, the school was turned into a hotel that, after two rounds of expansion and renovation, achieved a 110-guest capacity. The forest theme park, called the "Aoluguya Reindeer Tribe" (*Aoluguya shilu buluo* 敖鲁古雅使鹿部落) features reproductions of cone-shaped tents made of birch bark. Visitors can sip tea from bark cups and feed the near-dozen reindeer

kept there, while the tour guide dressed in "traditional Ewenki costumes" tell the stories of Ewenki herders and hunters. After visiting the museum, the tourists are encouraged to stay in the hotel or home-style inns offered by the Ewenki residents to gain a sense of the ethnic uniqueness of the reindeer tribe. At the highest peak around the settlement stands a wooden reindeer statue gilded in gold, marking this place as the home of the reindeer herders.

Aiming at providing modern housing for the Ewenki while simultaneously creating tourism-related employment opportunities for the community, the local government envisions new sources of income for the local residents, including hotel services, souvenir production, and ethnic show. Such efforts to promote the image of China's reindeer people have been relatively successful. Although not a well-known tourist destination, Aoluguya attracted over 15,000 tourists from its opening in June 2007 to the end of that year (Huang 2009: 77). As of 2017, the Aoluguya has received a total of 512,000 tourists (including 30,000 foreigners) who came to experience the reindeer herding lifestyle and learn about its history (Aoluguya shilu buluo jingqu 2018). In 2010, China was admitted to the Association of World Reindeer Herders on account of the Aoluguya herders. Three years later, Aologuya hosted the 2013 World Reindeer Herders Congress.

TAIGA, REINDEER, AND ETHNIC TRADITION: THE DILEMMA

Although the Ewenki have already experienced several rounds of relocation during the preceding decades, none of them has so dramatically altered the lifeworld of the Ewenki, both herders and non-herders, as the 2003 relocation. The relocations of 1957 and 1965, both which were also state-mandated, did not have the same dramatic impact because the Ewenki were relocated within the taiga; as such, their economic and cultural base of reindeer herding was largely maintained. Their ties to the forest were not severed, and the settlement simply provided them with alternatives to herding and hunting. Alongside their traditional way of living with the reindeer, the Ewenki were afforded new opportunities to enjoy the material benefits of the modern life. In 2003, however, the relocation project was carried out with a hitherto unseen level of authority, with the state actively integrating the community into its scheme of modernization and economic development. Being assigned to a sedentary settlement so close to an urban environment, the herders were moved out of the taiga and a large share of them could no longer engage in subsistence hunting and reindeer herding.

The resettlement was imposed upon the Ewenki by an iron state will and it irreversibly changed their lives, yet with fifteen years passed by, many Ewenki gradually accepted their fate and came to see the changes in a positive light. Pu Lingsheng, the former mayor of Aoluguya, is among this camp. As one of the increasing numbers of Ewenki who do not own reindeer, Pu was among the first to appeal to the government that they should be given a new settlement in order to

modernize the community. As he sees it, it is the move to New Aoluguya, with its desirable location and modern infrastructure that makes the antler processing industry possible and profitable. Although reindeer and their antlers have traditionally constituted the cornerstone of the Ewenki economy, the rapidly-emerging reindeer-based tourism should be prioritized because it will "not only increase the income of the Ewenki, but also protect and revive the ethnic culture."[8] Pu's view is shared by Wu Xuhong and Suo Ronghua. When asked about her feeling for the new settlement, Wu, a university graduate currently working for the local government, firmly answers that she would prefer the new over the old, since "it is near the city of Genhe and the living conditions are much better, which makes life more convenient than before."[9] Running a store for souvenirs, Suo is pleased to see that Aoluguya is welcoming more and more tourists, a trend that has significantly increased her family's income. For her, the new environment is more comfortable than the forest camps and the close distance to Genhe means better education for her children.[10]

The relocation has indeed improved the material well-being of the Ewenki, but it has proved to be a double-edged sword. With a large number of the Ewenki becoming sedentarized and increasingly attracted to the lifestyle provided by urban infrastructure, their new generation are now largely cut off from the taiga where their ancestors had lived for generations. This separation has negatively impacted the Ewenki's way of living and their indigenous cultural practices. Due to the hunting ban, the Ewenki stopped hunting; except for few old hunters, no one knows how to use guns, ground arrows, or birch bark skis. The reduction in the number of reindeer hide and the complexity of the traditional way of skinning have kept the young generation away from learning it, while their feather garment has been quickly replaced by the more fashionable and convenient modern clothing (Wang 2015: 957). Even the reindeer, which used to be the most important means of transport for the Ewenki, have given place to motorcycles and trucks. As a result, the traditional skills of training reindeer for riding and loading are also on the verge of being lost. Although children and youth still go to the campsites, most of them are students who only stay there temporarily during holidays, and few of them are willing to continue practicing reindeer herding.

In addition, the preservation and continuance of the Ewenki language and religious belief is also under threat. When they go to school, Ewenki children are put into the classes as their Han Chinese peers, with all lessons given in Chinese. While working in the tourist industry, the former hunters and herders also speak

[8] Personal interview with Pu on August 13, 2011.

[9] Personal interview with Wu on July 24, 2016.

[10] Personal interview with Suo on July 22, 2016. She also notes that she was initially unhappy about the changes occurred to her life, but as tourism increased her income, her attitude began to change.

Chinese, as their customers are overwhelmingly Han Chinese. Within only one generation, most Ewenki in Aoluguya have changed from speaking predominantly their own language to conversing in Chinese. Now only about 40 people can still speak the traditional Ewenki language (Fraser 2010: 317). Similiarly, even though for generations Shamanism has played an irreplaceable role in the Ewenki's spiritual beliefs and cultural practices, it is gradually fading out from their religious lifeworld, especially after the death of Niula, the last Shaman, in 1997 (Lin 2018: 10). Since then there has been no new shaman in Aoluguya, nor have the Ewenki held any shamanistic activities.

Many Ewenki who now reside in the new settlement are aware of the relocation's negative impacts. Although the majority of them are still directly or indirectly involved in reindeer herding, many feel coerced into the relocation and lament that they are forced to distance themselves from hunting and herding economies. Anta, one of the few Ewenki who are still proficient in traditional skinning skills, notes that although she has gradually accepted the resettlement, she still prefers the forest since there "it is free and unstrained, which is irreplaceable by the material comfort of the sedentary life" (Huang 2009: 124). While Anta remains in the settlement, some have chosen to return to their campsites in the taiga. For instance, the sisters Maria and Hasha Bu, two eldest members of the community, find the divide between the taiga and the settlement insurmountable. To cope with this, they have abandoned their places in the pension facility to live in the forest because they feel themselves emotionally attached to the taiga and their reindeer. After living almost their whole lives in the forest, they "are accustomed to everything there"; they can only meet the spirits of the nature and thus "feel good" in the reindeer's presence (Xie 2010: 66).

Such displeasure with the changed life and eroded spiritual attachment to the forest are also shared by the younger generation. Wang Ying, an Ewenki woman in her early 40s, is among those who stay in the settlement while her husband returns the forest to take care of their reindeer, since her daughter attends school in Genhe. She complains that her family's income is low despite the hard work and misses the old days in the forest when the whole family could live on hunted game and stay with their reindeer (Huang 2009: 132). Wu Xusheng, a 37-year-old Ewekni man who herds his reindeer seasonally while residing in the settlement during the off-season, explicitly voiced his disappointment in New Aoluguya, for "it is too close to the city and the temperature is higher, which is unfavorable for the growth of lichen." He admits that life is much harder in the forest, but says he would rather choose to bear the hardships at the campsites than stay at the settlement, where there are too many people but no animals. For him, the living conditions of his family and himself is secondary to that of the reindeer; and only in the taiga, where

lichen is abundant, that the reindeer can survive and that the Ewenki community can survive.[11]

For those who cannot bear the sedentary life at the new settlement but are not able to return to the forest, some try to cope with the grief at their changed life by drinking. Asuo, who used to a renowned hunter in the community, lost his source of income and rhythm of life after the hunting ban. Since he is among those who do not own reindeer, he now lives on government welfare. Although he had been assigned a job as tour guide in the forest theme park, he was soon dismissed due to alcoholism. When asked why he could not stop drinking, he replies: "I am from the forest, and there is nothing for me here. All I can do now is drink every day" (Xie 2010: 172–174).[12] While alcohol is not foreign to the Ewenki, the community's drinking habits have considerably changed post-resettlement. Like many other reindeer herders across North and Inner Asia, the Ewenki has the tradition of making ritualized offerings before drinking, practiced by tipping the liquor cup three times to show respect for the sky, earth, and the hearth.[13] Through such offerings, the hunters and herders are seeking to appease the non-human agents of the forest. In New Aoluguya, however, such acts are now seldom seen. Now people are drinking directly from their own bottles and often reaching a degree of intoxication, as Asuo frequently does.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

For many Ewenki, their people's way of life has always been tightly connected with the taiga and the reindeer. For many generations, they have maintained particular relationships to the domain that contains all the natural resources and creatures, which together consist their lifeworld. In this lifeworld, the reindeer doubtlessly occupy the central role. In contrast to the large-scale tundra reindeer herders in other parts of the world, the Ewenki enjoy a much more intimate connection to their reindeer, developing a particular model of "symbiotic domestication" in which the herders and the reindeer are mutually dependent on each other. As pack and riding animals that facilitate their movement in the forest, the reindeer is a principal source of income, storytelling, cultural practice, empowerment, and identity.

In the face of state authority that seeks to forcefully integrate the community into its project of economic development and modernization, however, the Ewenki

[11] Personal interviews with Wu on July 22, 2016 and 26 August, 2017.

[12] The story about Asuo was reiterated by Yu Lan, deputy mayor of Aoluguya, in my talk with her in 2017. But according to Yu, Asuo's conditions changed dramatically and he has now a stable job in the tourism sector.

[13] On the drinking rituals among reindeer herders in North and Inner Asia, see Humphrey & Onon 1996; Vitebsky 1990.

herders and hunters are left with little space to practice their indigenous way of life. Being relocated to a new settlement distant from the forest but close to the urban center, they are now far from the environment that once nurtured their ancestors and shaped their economy and ethnic culture. Some of them welcome the material benefits provided by the sedentarized way of life, residing permanently in the modern houses and taking up jobs as tour guides and souvenir shopkeepers. Yet at the same time, many found it difficult to adjust to the drastic transition, choosing either to return to the campsites to stay with their reindeer or to drown their sorrows in alcohol. No matter how the relocation is experienced by different individuals, the Ewenki are now in the middle of a "confrontation with the natural as well as the social environment" (Bird-David 1999: 84). In other words, the whole Ewenki community is caught in the dilemma of coping with life between the taiga and the urban center, reindeer herding and tourism, ethnic culture and modernization.

Behind such dilemma lies the seemingly unresolvable ambivalence of how to deal with the changed environment with the human-reindeer relations that has structured the social organization of the Ewenki and defined their cultural identity for generations. The Aoluguya Ewenki have no more than 250 members in their community; while they are resisting the modern urban life to a certain extent, it is evident that many are eager for governmental assistance–even if they have issues with the form it currently takes. As one Ewenki herder puts it: "We hope that the government can care about the development of the reindeer in the campsites, but the government believes that it is better for us to leave the forest. Isn't it good for both the government and us that assistance is offered according to our wishes?"[14]

In fact, it is this contradiction between the inner desire and reality that makes the Ewenki trapped in an awkward situation. Should the government take full responsibility for taking care of the Aoluguya Ewenki community? If the answer is yes, the community must accept the resettlement and stay away from the forest and the reindeer. For those who answer "no", however, it seems impossible for them to completely return to the original way of life, because their living environment and lifeworld have already undergone tremendous changes. No matter how the future of Ewenki in Aoluguya turns out, it is certain that without reindeer, there would be no Ewenki, while without the herders, the reindeer cannot live as they do in the taiga, nor to serve as the ethnic symbol of the Ewenki.

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[14] Personal talk with an anonymous Ewenki who accompanied Zhang Wanjun, currently mayor of Aoluguya on the Arctic Circle China Forum (Shanghai) on 10 May, 2019.

2019), and the workshop "Animal-Human Interactions in Anthropocene China and Asia: Interdisciplinary Approaches" (Hong Kong, 2019). The author is grateful to Vistor Teo, Aurore Dumont, Qu Feng, and Anders Oskal for their comments and inputs on various stages of the research. The research is funded by a special funding in the Hangzhou Social Sciences program (2018RCZX11) and the Qinshen Research Project of Hangzhou Normal University.

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ON THE HISTORY OF HUNGARIAN ETHNOMYCOLOGY

GYŐZŐ ZSIGMOND

SUMMARY

The structure of the article: brief summary of ethnomycological research in the world, short history of Hungarian ethnomycology, beginnings, current situation, results, problems and projects. Ethnomycology itself, in its bud, was created in the Hungarian language area during the Renaissance. Nowadays exists a group of Hungarian ethnomycologists (linguists, mycologists and ethnologists too among them) and some book containing ethnomycological studies were published too. Important to mention the mycological-ethnomycological review edited in Sf. Gheorghe/Sepsiszentgyörgy from 2003, the Moeszia. Erdélyi Gombász which is unique of this kind in the world.

Keywords: ethnomycology, Romania, Hungary, folklore.

The 1st International Ethnomycological Conference, Sfântu Gheorghe, 28 April 2018

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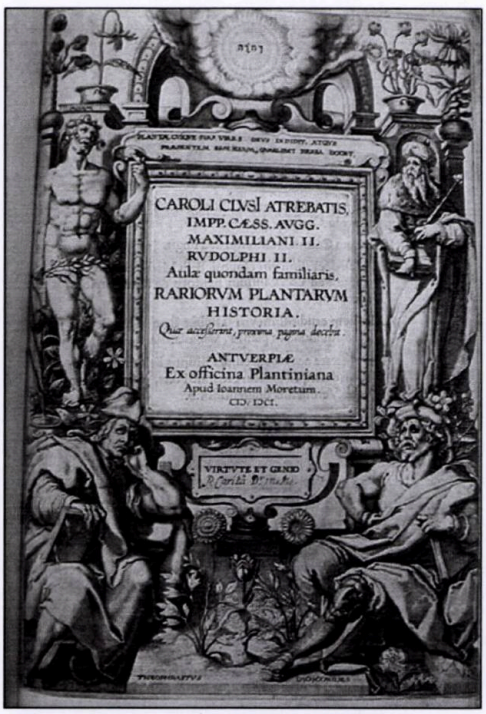
Ethnomycology as a subject was established in the 1950s, with the aim of investigating the relationship between mushrooms and folk culture.[1] Gordon Robert Wasson can be regarded as the founder of Ethnomycology; he started to work with this topic under the influence of his Russian wife.[2] He was mainly concerned with the role that mushrooms containing hallucinogenic substances have played in mythologies.[3] His work was acknowledged and encouraged, among others, by the famous ethnologist Lévi-Strauss, who even wrote a study on this topic.[4]

Carolus Clusius from Holland (the father of mycology) assisted by his Hungarian colleagues, in particular István Beythe, was probably the first to recognize the importance of studying folk mushroom knowledge.[5] Later on in the 20th century, it was Roger Heim from France who acknowledged the same idea and discovered the need to cooperate with researchers of mythology and folk culture.[6]



It is very likely that in Asia for example, where the languages and publications are less accessible to Europeans, that ethnomycology had significant history. However, we have no knowledge of what that history might be. The Chinese and the Japanese people are true mycophiles – they love their mushrooms. For example, the Japanese have a national mushroom, the matsutake (this has been sold as the most expensive mushroom worldwide), and there is even a book dedicated to it.[7]

The most significant figure of Australian ethnomycology is Árpád Kalotás[8] who originates from Hungary. He contributed extensively to the research on ethnomycology and to the recognition of its importance (1996). Several researchers of ethnomycology emerged from Latin America, mainly in Mexico following the work of the

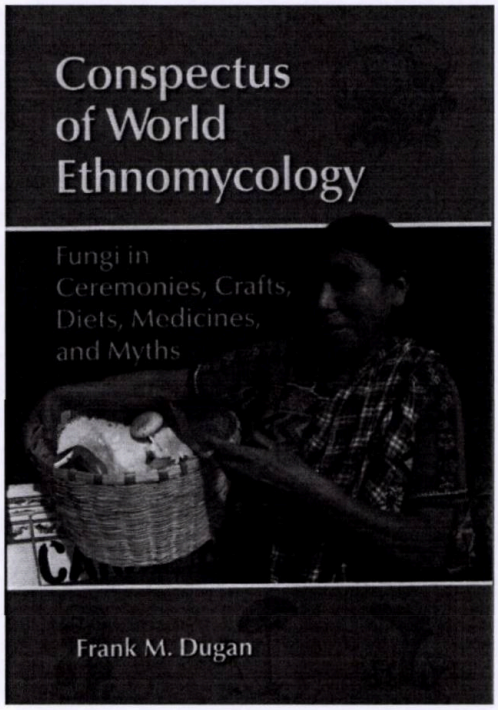
[1] Lévi-Strauss 1973: 264.
[2] Wasson 1957.
[3] Wasson 1968.
[4] Lévi-Strauss 1973.
[5] Clusius 1601.
[6] Heim–Wasson 1958.
[7] Toshiyuki 1997.
[8] Kalotás 1996.

prominent ethnobotanist Brent Berlin.[9] Similar to Asian traditions, ethnomycology also has notable and ancient cultural roots in Africa.[10]

More recent ethnomycologists/ethnobotanists from Europe are Mariano García-Rollán (1989, 2003, 2006), Roberto Garibay-Orijel (2000, 2012) from Spain and Daniel Thoen (1982) from Belgium.

The scientific activity of Carolus Clusius and István Beythe at the end of the 1500s is an important beginning in both Hungarian and worldwide respects. Carolus Clusius wrote the first scientific work[11] that includes Hungarian ethnomycology in 1601 with the following title: *Fungorum in Pannoniis observatorum brevis Historia.* Clusius' study contains Hungarian folk mushroom names from the 16th century and also data about the use of mushrooms during those times. For example, it also gives Hungarian recipes for edible mushrooms from that period.

The contributions of the botanist preacher István Beythe, who worked with Clusius, and of György Lencsés are also considerable, documenting mostly ethnographic history. In his large Hungarian monograph, György Lencsés (1530–1593) displays data on around 30 mushrooms. However, we cannot be sure whether any of these are from the author's own "ethnomycological" collection. Ethnomycology first emerged in the Hungarian language during the Renaissance, and it is also where the modern form, that has growing complexity, is reborn today, deservedly drawing the attention of the whole ethnomycological world.[12]



In the first edition of the *Hungarian Ethnographic Lexicon* (MNL), there is no entry under ethnomycology, but in the second volume we can find some guidance under the entry "mushroom gathering". The seventh volume of *Hungarian Ethnography* (MN) – which also includes folk nature and plant knowledge – only touches on mycology in two brief sentences.[13] The second volume of *Hungarian Ethnography* (which does not include the results of

[9] Berlin 1992.
[10] Oso 1975, 1977; Boa 2004, 2005.
[11] Istvánffi 1900.
[12] Dugan 2011: 107, 121.
[13] Szabó 1990: 735-736.

Hungarian ethnomycology from the end of the 20th century yet), entitled *Economy*, includes sub-chapters such as *Mushrooms* and *The Tinder and Its Utilization*. These offer a slightly deeper, but still brief insight into the subject.[14]

Among those dealing with folk nutrition, László Kardos (1943) and Sándor Dömötör (1952) added interesting and important data about the mushroom knowledge of the Transdanubian folk. The prominent ethnographer Béla Gunda also touches upon ethnomycological questions in his research on gathering, and mentions further names such as Aurél Vajkai, János Bödei and Ferenc Gregor in his presentation.[15]

Ferenc Gregor's work (1973) contains data processing from the perspective of linguistics and onomastics (the study of proper names) and analyses the Hungarian folk mushroom names. Kálmán László's thorough mycological work (1976–1977) examines the mushroom knowledge of two towns and their regions based on the mushrooms offered in their markets.

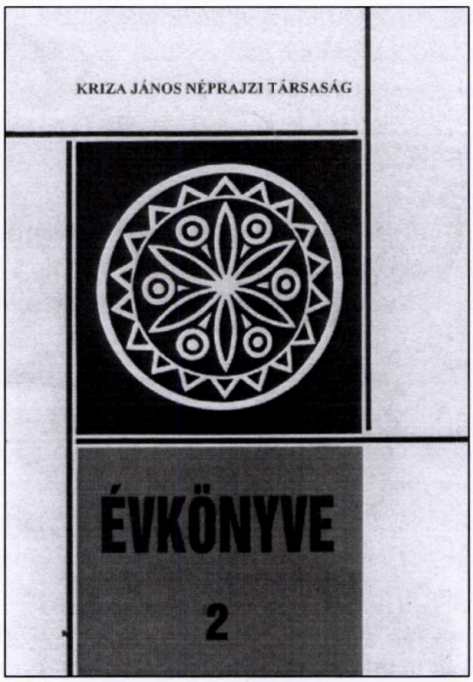
Péntek and Szabó (1985) write relatively little about the world of mushrooms in their ethnobotanical monography on Kalotaszeg (Ţara Călatei), however, they take stock of around 30 species of 23 genera by providing their folk names.

Paládi-Kovács reports on the folk uses and names of *boletus* and other mushroom species from the Barkó region and the old Torna county. We could continue the enumeration (Bődi, Danter, Hollós, Zsupos, etc.) still, it does not change the fact stated by Zoltán Ujváry in 1991 that: "There are still only a few serious, scientific comparative analyses, however, this would be the only viable path to survey and present the mushroom knowledge of certain communities."[16] Indeed, I discovered several shortcomings in works that had been published up to that point, mainly in the Hungarian and Romanian context. These included the occasional appearance of scientifically ungrounded and unconfirmed statements; inaccurate definitions of mushrooms; (possibly borrowed) misunderstandings and deficient references to sources. These led to a number of questions: whether the respective mushroom name is indeed a folk mushroom name; whether the mushroom named is known widely to the local people by this name; no distinction can be made between individual and community mushroom knowledge, and so on. The publications on ethnomycology of mycologists are most accurate before the 21st century, but at the same time lack some significant details and require some additional clarifications.

In the Hungarian context, ethnomycological studies and publications with Hungarian references hardly appeared until the end of the 20th century.

[14] Gunda 2001: 24-25, 31-32.
[15] See *mushroom gathering*, Hungarian Ethnographic Lexicon, 2nd volume, 291.
[16] Ujváry 1991: 35.

Consequently, issues of ethnomycology have been mentioned primarily in Hungarian specialist literature on folk nutrition, gathering and in investigations of onomastics. After 1991 the situation improved greatly. Sándor András Kicsi's works are mainly about linguistics and onomastics, but also include important ethnographic data, especially in his study entitled *On Some of Our Folk Mushroom Names* (1993, published in 2005).

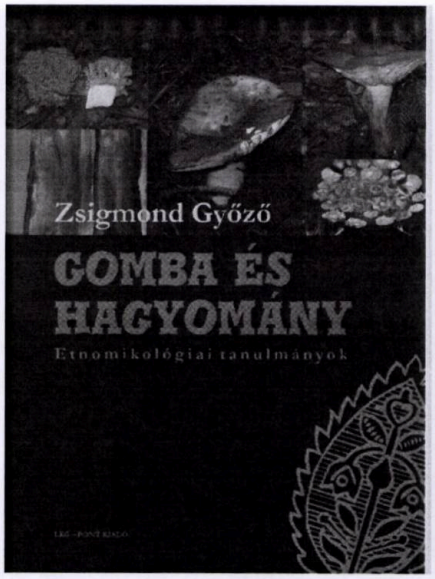


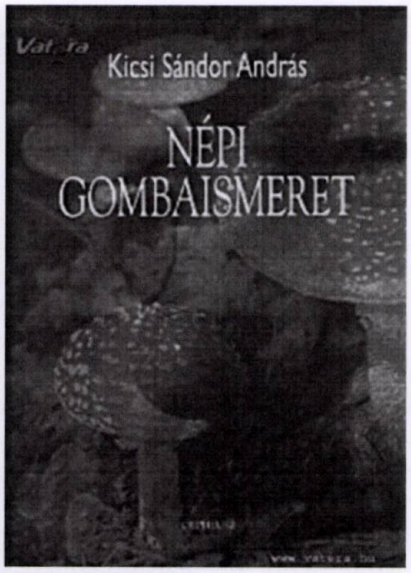
In 1994, I published a complete ethnomycological study, which was previously presented as a lecture at an ethnobotanic conference organized by the Kriza János Ethnographic Society in Odorheiu Secuiesc in May 1993.[17] The ethnomycological examination of Valea Crişului, located in Covasna County, was only a starting point. Since then, I have expanded my research to the majority of the Hungarian language area, but of course, I have worked mostly on surveying the Transylvanian conditions. In 1999 I published an article on the role of mushrooms in folk healing in the journal of the French Mycological Society.

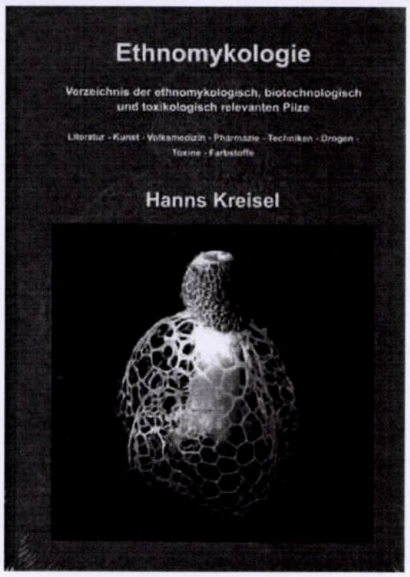
A smaller working community has formed and is hoping to be extended. Its members include a linguist (Sándor András Kicsi, Budapest), a mycologist (Tibor Sántha) and an ethnographer (Győző Zsigmond), who have joined forces for the success of modern ethnomycology. Studies by Sándor András Kicsi, that are relevant to this theme were published between 1995 and 2005. The work of Tibor Sántha (Jr. and Sr.) on the ethnomycology of Ghelința appeared in 2003. This was preceded by another work by Sántha on a local mushroom species, namely the *harapégésgomba*, in 2002.

Recently Tibor Sántha Jr. published a detailed bibliography (2009) on Transylvanian ethnomycology. Kicsi and Zsigmond are planning to write a small ethnomycological encyclopaedia and manual (their co-authored study on coral mushrooms and folk culture is nearly finished).

[17] Zsigmond 1994.






Ethnomykologie
Verzeichnis der ethnomykologisch, biotechnologisch
und toxikologisch relevanten Pilze
Literatur - Kunst - Volksmedizin - Pharmazie - Techniken - Drogen -
Toxine - Farbstoffe
Hanns Kreisel

Ethnomycology underwent a sudden development around 2010, not only in the Hungarian language, but also worldwide.

The first volume in German that gathered these together appeared in 2014. Unfortunately, it did not take into consideration any similar topics written in English or Hungarian.[18] At that time there were already three books in Hungarian

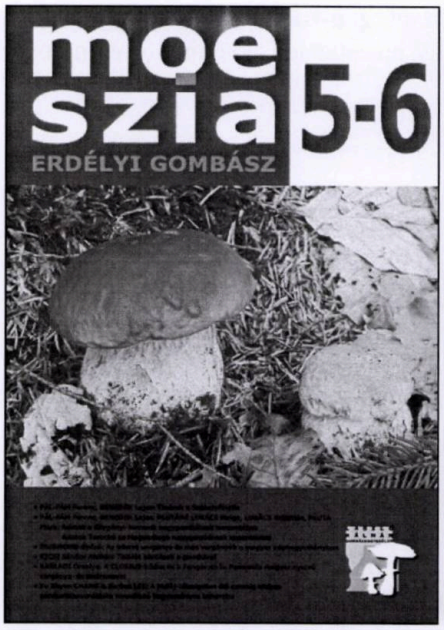
[18] Kreisel 2014.

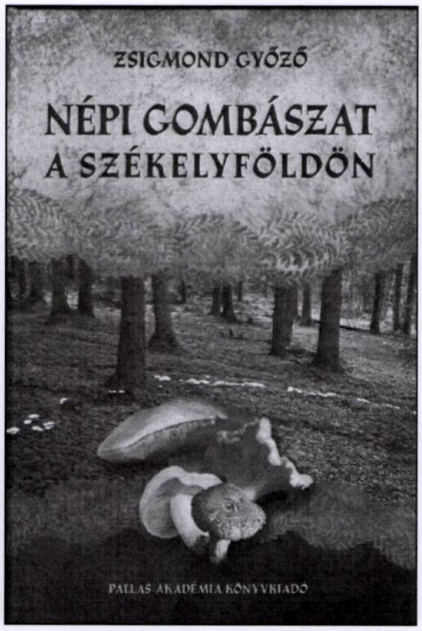
specifically about ethnomycology.[19] In the past years, two young researchers have joined the aforementioned ethnomycologists (the ethnographer, the linguist and the mycologist) by writing and preparing ethnomycological essays. These are the linguist Orsolya Bagladi (who completed her PhD at the University of Pannonia in Veszprém) and the ethnographer Zsuzsanna Berdán (who is currently a PhD student at the University of Debrecen). Bagladi wrote her dissertation on the linguistic processing of Hungarian folk mushroom names, and her preliminary studies have already been published recently.[20] Zsuzsanna Berdán undertook to collect and process Hungarian and German ethnomycological data about the fly agaric, then she started to investigate the knowledge of mountain shepherds about plants and mushrooms.[21] There was also a third supervised student from France (Gwendolin Torterat, Université de Paris X), who had been asking for help about the folklore related to beech tinder since 2009, however, that research stopped a couple of years ago on account of her change of topic.

Several students of mine from the University of Bucharest accepted the supervision, did research on ethnomycological topics and wrote papers.[22] Csilla Antal mentioned ethnomycology in relation with folk nutrition in Dăneşti. Tünde Köllő wrote about the mushroom knowledge of farmsteads in the Gheorgheni Depression in two ethnobotanic studies for her BA and MA theses. After becoming a teacher in Vlăhița, Éva Bartha presented the local mushroom knowledge based on her former teacher's questionnaire in her manuscript. At the Department of Hungarology of the University of Bucharest there have been lectures on ethnomycology rarely but regularly. I held six ethnomycological lectures as a visiting professor at the József Attila University in Szeged (Hungary) as part of my course on ethnomycology, ethnoastronomy and folk mushroom knowledge (2002, 2nd semester). Of course, there were also others who contributed with important data and who partially dealt with topics of ethnomycology within ethnographic and ethnobotanic works.[23]

Hungarian ethnomycology is also becoming more and more renowned in other languages. This is attested by studies published mainly in English and French, especially by the most significant synthesizing work so far.[24] Although several ethnomycological lectures had been held at several international conferences, the first international ethnomycological conference took place only in 2008, and to our knowledge this also meant a beginning on a global scale.[25] To this day, the first and only ethnomycological journal, a yearbook (specifying it also in its name) is the Moeszia, which also publishes the studies in English, in most cases.

[19] Zsigmond 2009a, 2011a, Kicsi 2009.
[20] Bagladi 2009, 2010, 2011.
[21] Berdán 2013, 2014.
[22] Antal 2003; Köllő 1999, 2000; Bartha 2010.
[23] E.g. Klára Gazda, Jenő Gub, Géza Kóczián, Ilona L. Juhász, János Rab, János Péntek, Attila Szabó T., Márton Tarisznyás, see also: References.
[24] Dugan 2011.
[25] Sfântu Gheorghe, Székely National Museum, April 2008, see also Kicsi 2017.





Erdélyi Gombász is a journal of the Kálmán László Mycological Society, which appears in Sfântu Gheorghe and it is also available on the Internet.[26] Among others, we know about English, French, Spanish, Romanian and Bulgarian citations of our ethnomycologists.[27] It can be considered a great achievement that most of the references within the first great compilation so far are made to the Moeszia journal, and it mostly cites Hungarian authors. The American author (Frank Dugan) has repeatedly consulted me before writing his book.[28]

I highlight the following future objectives:

- collecting mushroom names (associated with the official and scientific names)
- systematizing historical data
- clarifying relationships among Hungarian, Romanian, German and Finno-Ugrian, Turkish, Slavic and other mushroom names and ethnomycological knowledge
- a more complete complex, and more professional collection (for example, based on a questionnaire).[29]

[26] www.gombasz.ro

[27] Dugan 2011: 10, 29, 31, 40, 45, 121; Garibay-Orijel 2012: 5; Roussel et al. 2002: 2, 26, 31, 32, 46; Uzunov–Stoyneva–Gärtner 2015: 6; Drăgulescu 2014: 384.

[28] Dugan 2011.

[29] Zsigmond 1993, 2009a: 102.

These can also be regarded as important, gap-filling and interesting work that needs to be completed. The more frequently investigated domains of ethnomycology are the following:

- mushroom names
- mushrooms in folk healing
- mushroom and mythology
- mushroom and nutrition.

Our results are more considerable in these fields, however, they are still incomplete, especially in some details, as the research has been carried out in the entire Hungarian language area, and there is also a monograph on ethnomycological regions, which is unique.[30]

Present-day beliefs and knowledge related to mushrooms, such as mushroom and folk poetry, mushroom gathering as profession, mushroom and folk art, mushroom and folk children's toys, mushroom and folk cuisine, mushroom and folk music and dance – the literature still says relatively little about the latter, therefore these are still unexplored, interesting research topics. It is worth noting that the researcher's equipment, their questionnaire, plus the amount and quality of pictures presented by him/her also influence the results. Thus, future objectives include the necessity of acquiring ethnomycological accessories that make a precise comparison possible.

Gathering (and its special area, mushroom gathering) demonstrates, on the one hand, a primitive evolutionary phase, demonstrating our aspiration towards the harmony between man and the other parts of life from ancient times and, on the other hand, gathering has become incorporated in advanced (but often more ignorant and simply exploitative) societies of today and certainly will be in the future. The research on the intricate relationship between mushrooms, mushroom gathering, people and culture would provide new data for various disciplines, and would enable them to widen and to develop their knowledge further.

I visited every Hungarian ethnographic region of the Carpathian Basin in order to do ethnomycological research, but still there are many parts to explore and lots of details to clarify in the future. In order to do thorough ethnomycological work and map the entire Hungarian language area, several researchers have to work together.

The literature below well illustrates the interdisciplinary nature of ethnomycology. Besides several ethnographic works, it discusses mainly linguistic and botanical-mycological writings. The Kriza János Ethnographic Society (1990–), the Hungarian Mycological Society (1982–) and the Kálmán László Mycological Society (1999–) have contributed extensively to the research of Hungarian ethnomycology in the entire Carpathian Basin, both through their members and by providing an institutional background. I consider it important to mention one of the

[30] Zsigmond 2011a.

cooperating partners of the Kálmán László Mycological Society, namely the Székely National Museum, as some of the results of ethnomycological research can be found here. There is a unique collection of objects presenting the art and craft of processing tinder in Corund (it is a kind of Hungaricum, it contains the works and donations of tinder craftsmen from Corund, namely Lajos István, Lajos Szőcs as well as those of Zoltán Kakas and Győző Zsigmond. Zsigmond created the collection and donated it to the museum in 1998.

Special thanks go to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, which has been supporting Hungarian ethnomycological research for the past ten years through the Domus Hungarica and Bolyai János scholarships.

The fieldwork in Zakarpattia Oblast (west-southern region of Ukraine) was aided on several occasions through travel support by eleven members (Gizella Ebergényi, Mária Hollán, Károly Kosztolányi, Magdolna Mester, Vilmos P. Ruzsik, Lajos Szántai, Eric Selegny, Éva Suire-Kütter, György Szőke, Márta Vida, Antónia Winkler), and by several Hungarian and three French cultural organizations (Assoc. Vincentinum, A.J.C.H. and ALCYON led by Ferenc Fejtő), on Judit Nyáry's recommendation.

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[31] See a more detailed list of references in Zsigmond 2019a.

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THE ETHNO-MUSEOGRAPHICAL ACTIVITY OF OCTAVIAN C. TĂSLĂUANU FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT AND OPERATION OF «ASSOCIATION» MUSEUM, SIBIU

GEORGE-BOGDAN TOFAN, ADRIAN NIȚĂ

ABSTRACT

This academic endeavour stems from the need to emphasize the activity of Octavian C. Tăslăuanu within the *Transylvanian Association for Romanian Literature and the Culture of the Romanian People* (*ASTRA in Romanian*), between 1906-1914, today partially forgotten and ignored. Since 1922, Octavian C. Tăslăuanu had been compiling his writings, including works published in magazines and journals, as well as new ones. This compendium was supposed to contain eight sections, the fourth being titled "In the field of culture" and set out to focus, among other, his cultural activity as administrative secretary of ASTRA. Without a clear and definitive schdeule, in 1938, he extended his writings to 15 volumes, rearranging some of them as memories, such as *Confessions II – Confronting life*, containing chapter II entitled *At ASTRA in Sibiu* (*1906-1914*), unfinished. The manuscript also contained several drafts, among them "My activity at the «Association»" and a 15 chapter plan of a future book *Ten years of activity at «Association»*. As he passed away on 23rd October 1942, some of these volumes remained unpublished until 1976, when his birth centenary was celebrated. Thus came into being the volume *"Confessions"*, published at Minerva Publishing House, Bucharest. Furthemore, the entire ethnological and museographical activity of Octavian C. Tăslăuanu at the *«Association»* Museum of Sibiu was "extracted" and overwhelmingly organized in *Transilvania Journal*, published between 1906-1919, following a logical succession of events.

Keywords: Octavian C. Tăslăuanu, Sibiu, ASTRA Museum, Transilvania Journal, ethno-museography.

Octavian Codru Tăslăuanu (1876-1942), born in Bilbor, is one of the multidimensional cultural personalities of the interwar period, greatly contributing

to the Great Union of 1st December 1918. Between 1898-1902, he was a student at the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of Bucharest University, being tutored by illustrious men such as Titu Maiorescu, Ovid Densușianu, Dimitrie Onciul, Simion Mehedinți, and Nicolae Iorga. After graduation, at the age of 26, at the recommendation of Ioan Bianu from the Romanian Academy, he became secretary at the Romanian General Consulate in Budapest. On 28th March 1903, he became editor of *Luceafărul Magazine*, a publication fighting for the cultural and political unity of Transylvanian Romanians. In August 1905, he participated at the inaugural celebrations for the «Association» Museum of Sibiu, where he personally met some of the magazines writers and collaborators. Following the advice of his friend Octavian Goga, and also pressured by financial woes, he decided to move the magazine to Sibiu, in 1906, leaving his post as diplomat[1]. He was later named administrative secretary of ASTRA and held the position until 1914, fervently working towards the dissemination of national culture[2].

Octavian C. Tăslăuanu's debut in the programmes of ASTRA Sibiu can be found in a transcript of the 8th meeting of the Central Comittee (14-15 August 1906). Its states that first-secretary dr. Corneliu Diaconovici, after 10 years of service, decided to resign. During the same meeting, Octavian Goga resigned as administrative secretary as he had already submitted his request to run as literary critic for the «Association». Therefore, with the position vacant, two candidates, Iuliu Moisil and Octavian C. Tăslăuanu, submitted the paperwork for the position. Despite several administrative and methodological setbacks (the bureau of the association had neither an approved systematization nor a budget), Nicolae Ivan, permanent member of the ASTRA Bureau supported Octavian C. Tăslăuanu and proposed that the elections be held during the same very meeting, while C. Diaconovici suggested postponing the matter until the next meeting. After counting the votes, Octavian C. Tăslăuanu obtained 7 out of 8 votes, and was set to start on 1st September 1906, with a remuneration set by the budget of that year[3]. Shortly after taking the position, on 22nd September 1906, during the general assembly held in Brașov, he was given his tasks as administrative secretary (reviewer and notary of the Central Committee and general assemblies' meeting; correspondence with the authorities, associations and foreign public; organisation of departments and their activity etc.), with an yearly salary of 3,000 crowns.

As ASTRA was experiencing massive financial problems, the position of museum custodian remained unoccupied. Architect Ioan Pamfilie was hired as interim custodian, and was then tasked to proceed with the inventory and placement of museum exhibits[4]. For that matter, Octavian C. Tăslăuanu, with a keen sense and

[1] Triteanu, 1972: 20.
[2] Tofan et Niță, 2018: 73.
[3] Transilvania, Anale, 1906 (4): 203-204.
[4] Transilvania, Anale, 1907 (3): 77.

enterprising spirit, begins to actively focus on acquring ethnographic material for the museum[5]. In a chronicle published in *Luceafărul,* he appears taken up by the need to increase the museum's collections, at the same time being disappointed that entire collections of objects had already been purchased or obtained by other people than Transylvanians. He primarily regretted the valuable album of weaves of Dimitrie Comşa, bought by Eliza Ştirbei, now in the collection of the Romanian Peasant Museum of Bucharest. Octavian C. Tăslăuanu wondered: "Why was our museum robbed of our first ethnographic collection?", as Transylvania lacked worthy men, "...with sentiments of sacrifice and proud collectors ready to fill the empty rooms of that palace that bears the name historical and ethnographical museum? Its emptiness marks us all with shame, and the indifference towards it is proof of our wickedness and pettiness, as it does not belong to one or another but to the entire people of this country, it is of the past, present and for our future, a sacred treasure hosting the very essence of our lives from all times and in all of its forms"[6].

The first objects purchased by the museum are several weave and fabric types, Romanian popular costumes, icons and woodwork from the villages of Veza (today part of Blaj), Bilbor, Corbu and Meştera (Stânceni), with the price of 100 crowns, as well as miniature mill, created by peasant Ioan Colţea from Şona, Braşov, for 50 crowns. After bringing over 100 volumes, brochures, manuscripts, letters and other objects that once belonged to writer Iosif Vulcan, shortly after his death, to Oradea, the young Tăslăuanu noted these aspects in *Transilvania* magazine. Despite several "calls" from Octavian Goga and Octavian C. Tăslăuanu to the general public on the museum's importance, necessity to gather valuable objects, as well as the creation of a donation fund, the organisation of the new institution was a slow process, due to financial penury and the inability to find a qualified custodian for said task. It was suggested bringing a teacher from Sibiu. All these aspects were registered by Tăslăuanu in the transcripts of the general assembly held in Şimleu Silvaniei on 7th and 8th August 1908, when he asked for the permission of the Central Committee to receive or purchase different rare objects from the ethnographical collection held there, on condition of not spending more than 200 crowns.

Due to problems facing the museum, on 25th December 1908, a commission comprised of dr. Ilarion Puşcariu, dr. Ioan Lemeni and Nicolae Ivan set the following rules: 1. a more rigurous selection of the museum's objects; 2. no more museum visits without a fee, and creating a special visitor registry and their donations; 3. setting a certain sum of money for the budget of the «Association» solely for increasing the collections; 4. the termination of the contract with the interim custodian, from then on the museum being under the management of

[5]Transilvania, Anale, 1908 (1): 6.
[6] Luceafărul, 1906 (19-20): 420-421.

Octavian C. Tăslăuanu, and the library under Octavian Goga[7]. The deplorable state of the museum was registered in a 1913 report, Tăslăuanu saying: "On 1st January 1909, as the keys to the museum were handed to me, I found it in a terrible state. For three months I had to work and clean the Museum, save the objects from the moths who had destroyed a quarter of the collection[8]. This period also marked a valuable donation in the form of four letters written by Timotei Cipariu.

Photo 1: Octavian C. Tăslăuanu with his wife, Adelina, at Borsec, 1907.
Source: photograph provided by Stela Mitruță, daughter of the writer's younger brother (Cornel Tăslăuanu)

During the third meeting of the Central Committee, on 25th March 1909, Tăslăuanu presented a detailed report regarding the state of the museum and his accomplishments. At the same time, he proposed the closure of the museum to the public until all inventories and arrangements had been brought to fruition, as well as hiring a helper and a servant for guarding the museum. He also published calls in *Transilvania,* in order to secure funding, and organized beautiful literary-artistic soirees in the museum's festive hall. The first receptions took place in the winter of 1908. Regarding said aspect, we inserted two compelling photographs, edited as illustrated postal cards created in the workshop of Emil Fischer, on 5 Heltauergasse Street, Sibiu. The first one depicts the younger brother of the museum's director, Cornel Tăslăuanu, at the age of 23, who won first price at a Căluşari dance competition. At the same time, he was gifted with a photograph containing a friendship dedication, from a little boy called Petru Drăgoi, also winner of the Căluşari competition for children.

[7] Transilvania, Anale, 1908 (4): 209.
[8] Transilvania, 1913 (4-5): 325-326.

Photo 2 &3: Cornel Tăslăuanu and Petru Drăgoi, 30th March 1910, Sibiu.
Source: photograph provided by Stela Mitruță, daughter of the Cornel Tăslăuanu

Moreover, Octavian C. Tăslăuanu tirelessly continued his journalistic career. He published a first article in the second volume of *Transilvania magazine* (April-June 1909, pages 59-69), titled *Associatio Museum*, which, according to the footnote (p. 59), was included by other publications, either entirely, or as a summary. Beyond the informative and methodological characteristic of gathering and sorting ethnographical material, Octavian C. Tăslăuanu was not blinded by the admiration of his peers nor by a comfortable life. On the contrary, he protested against what he considered as severe and damaging shortcomings in the museum's organisation, truly believing in the possibility of mitigating said problems and providing solutions through an exceptional project, aimed at reestablishing an investment campaign[9]. He once stated: "Many apparrently believe that, the erection of the pompous building in the park of Sibiu, which bears the name, in golden letters, «Association Museum», proves to every visitor of the city, that Romanians [...] are a people at their highest level of civilization and self-conscience [...]. The truth is we are far from having a museum and, therefore, the pride is somewhat premature. [...] It is time to put and end to our delusions and, after gathering our

[9] Grama, 2002: 107.

strength, transform the «Association Museum» in an institution worthy of its name"[10]. For those determined to contribute to gathering and adding to ethnographic collections, a guidebook (with illustrations) was devised, classifying artifacts into 6 categories: *I. The commune* (documents, photographs and ensemble plans of rural housing); *II. The church and the school* (photographs and inventories of old, wooden bisericilor artifacts); *III. The peasant's household*; *IV. Occupations* (agriculture, animal husbandry, fishing and hunting); *V. Clothing; VI. Customs and musical instruments*. Furthermore, each department director of the «Association» was tasked with the organization of ethnographic and household expos, offering different prizes to those who present old artifacts, later to be purchased by the museum.

He also reached out to priests and rural teachers, as well as to students, who, with little to no effort, could travel across the country, thus becoming the museum's most valuable collaborators. Some were advised to write ethnographic monographies of their communes, while those who appreciate the treasures of popular art were asked to gather painted eggs and other pieces of art.

As proof for the support of all these people, he published in *Transilvania magazine*, July-September 1909, a shorter paper (pag. 190-191), with the same title as before, offering gratitude to all contributors and sponsors, even nominating some of them. The paper also contains the birth of an idea – a journey to identify the rural heritage and possible acquisitions. He makes a crucial statement as well, which, today, would to the principle of authenticity[11]: "Those with the desire to give such dolls, do not dress them in new clothing based on older models, but in their original garments, even though they might be used. Its is easier and cheaper. One should search for the garments characteristic to more than one old family from the commune and dress the doll as such. [...] How these dolls might look in the museum, one can see from an illustration from «Luceafărul» nr. 11/1909, reproducing some from *Skansen Museum,* Stockholm, where they are better tended to"[12].

Lacking experience in cataloguing and arranging artifacts, after previous visits to Sibiu and the Museum of Ethnography and National Art of Bucharest, which did not help, he decided to travel to Budapest, where "the secrets of an ethnographic museum were revealed, as it is done today everywhere. [...] The hardest work is the preservation of the artifacts against moths, rot, rust and mold, which we cannot do without the help of the staff and a proper location"[13]. Based on the knowledge gathered, he created, for the first time in Romania, an active

[10] Transilvania, 1909 (2): 59-60.
[11] Bucur, 2016: 266.
[12] Transilvania, 1909 (3): 190.
[13] Transilvania, 1910 (1-2): 40.

preservation system for the garment collection, using carbon sulfide, thus managing to preserve in good conditions the entire collection. He continued by traveling to Germany, in October 1909, where he visited the ethnographic museums of Frankfurt, Nürenberg and München. He thus adopted the principle of arranging the collection in groups based on the materials. This was a first success of the new manager, which is why he continued to write the museum's catalogue. On 11th November 1909, the museum was "temporarily" reopened to the public, with the following sections: 1. *Woodwork and occupations*; 2. *Garments and customs*; 3. *Home industry*.

One of the rooms hosted a painting exposition, with exhibits from Şaguna, Luchian, Simionescu, Pop, the original sketches of Romanian furniture from Bucovina, created by the archiect and pioneer of Romanian ethnographic museography, Ion Ştefureac of Câmpulung Moldovenesc, and Minerva Cosma's original album of weaves.

He also wrote two articles on peasant decorative art. The first was titled *"Peasant furniture"*, including eight photographs, and in its conclusion: "Very few people researched Romanian furniture, no wonder it is an unknown subject. I will describe the furniture of a peasant room, in order to awaken our interest in this matter. Maybe some will decide to gather old furniture for the "Association Museum"[14]. The second article, *"Art in Romania"*, delved deeper into this problem, stating: "The true national art is thusly to search only at the people. Therefore, we cannot give credit enough to Mr. Tzigara-Samurcaş for his efforts to awaken interest and love for such a treasure. And we must press on and support our scholars in their effort to gather all works of art for the museum, as there will be a time, when the miserable people, forced by the needs and miseries of every day life, will leave and forget them. We must save what we can until it is not too late!"[15]. Despite the effort, progress was slow, as the artifacts in the museum at the time were not tagged. Their origin had to be identified using the catalogue of the 1905 inaugural exposition.

On 19th February 1910, following a visit to his native area, Tăslăuanu brought back 22 new artifacts from Bilbor, including a coat, a waistcoat, four wall carpets, two towels, a distaff, a pair of trousers, shirts, two food cloths, a salt shaker, and five atifacts from Răşinari (10 sowing models, a headscarf, a handkerchief, sleeves from an "ie" and leather bag).

[14] Luceafărul, 1909 (14-15): 320.
[15] Luceafărul, 1909 (18): 417.

Repertoir of ethnographic artifacts al purchased by Octavian C. Tăslăuanu for «Association» Museum of Sibiu, 1910 (synthesis)[16]

1910						
Purchases						
Crt. no.	Date		Description	No.	Origin	Price (cr.)
	Month	Day				
1	February	19	Coat	1	Bilbor	14
2	February	19	Coat	1	Bilbor	25
3	February	19	Wall carpets	4	Bilbor	39
4	February	19	Topel	2	Bilbor	6
5	February	19	Distaff	1	Bilbor	3
6	February	19	Women belt	1	Bilbor	4
7	February	19	Women shirts	9	Bilbor	71
8	February	19	Food cloth	2	Bilbor	4
9	February	19	Salt shaker	1	Bilbor	0.80
10	February	20	Weave templates	10	Răşinari	1
11	February	20	Head cover	1	Răşinari	0.80
12	February	20	Head cover	1	Răşinari	0.60
13	February	20	Leather bag	1	Răşinari	0.40
14	February	20	Shirt sleeves	2	Răşinari	0.20
15	July	01	«Alexandria» volume	1	Răşinari	6
16	July	01	Coat	1	Bran	18
17	July	01	Wall carpet	1	Bran	6
18	July	01	Cheese template	1	Bran	4
19	July	01	Women shirts	4	Bran	26
20	July	01	Old coins	80	Bran	6
21	July	01	Towel	1	Bran	2
22	July	01	Dancing clubs	2	Hodac and Potoc	4
23	July	01	Food wraping cloth	2	Săliște	10
24	July	01	Women coat	2	Săliște	1
25	July	01	Weaves	5	Săliște	15
26	July	01	Romanian weave album	1	Bucureşti	56
27	July	01	Photographs	29	Sibiu	17
28	September	02	Copy of portrait of Avram Iancu	1	Bucureşti	80
29	September	18	Women shirts	7	Corbu-Tulgheş	74
30	September	18	Women shirts	2	Corbu-Tulgheş	16
31	September	18	Coat hangers	3	Corbu-Tulgheş	8
32	September	18	Women belt	3	Corbu-Tulgheş	8
33	September	18	Bed cover	1	Corbu-Tulgheş	4
34	September	18	Wall carpets	2	Corbu-Tulgheş	16.20
35	September	18	Women shirts	8	Bilbor	84.50
36	September	18	Towel	2	Bilbor	8
37	September	18	Drinking cup	1	Bilbor	3
38	September	18	Cup	3	Bilbor	2.40

[16] Transilvania, 1911 (4): 473-474.

39	September	18	Women belt	3	Bilbor	6.50
40	September	18	Spoons	3	Bilbor	1.40
41	September	18	Distaff	2	Bilbor	5
42	September	18	Broad belt	2	Bilbor	4
43	September	18	Horse cover	2	Bilbor	25
44	September	18	Women coat	2	Bilbor	2.30
45	September	18	Rings	3	Bilbor	1.20
46	September	18	Old money	5	Bilbor	-
47	September	18	Women shirt	9	Bicaz	89.20
48	September	18	Men shirt	2	Bicaz	8
49	September	18	Horse cover	2	Bicaz	20
50	September	18	Crosses	2	Bicaz	8.20
51	September	18	Ornamental weave	2	Bicaz	2
52	September	18	Towel	5	Bicaz	8
53	September	18	Food cloths	3	Bicaz	8
54	September	18	Chocker	1	Bicaz	1
55	September	18	Wimple	1	Bicaz	4
56	September	18	Icons	3	Bicaz	4
57	September	18	Spoons	2	Bicaz	0.80
58	September	18	Chalice covers	3	Bicaz	2
59	September	18	Crate	1	Bicaz	8
60	September	18	Pulley	2	Bicaz	1
61	September	18	Garlic sauce bowl	1	Bicaz	-
TOTAL				**261**		**854.50**

As the museum's development was becoming more and more objective in nature, Octavian C. Tăslăuanu wrote the third article titled *Association Museum*[17], containing a detailed report, presented during the Central Committee's meeting held on 10th March 1910, regarding the progress so far.

The first part presents aspects regarding the collections of «*The Historical and Ethnographic Museum of the Association*», as well as the fact that in 1909 the collection expanded by over 1,100 arifacts, donations or purchases – with a total spending of 286,40 crowns[18]. Even the person tasked with arranging them amassed 200 artifacts, the most valauble being distaffs, shepherd clubs, the pottery of Răşinari and the weaves of Banat. The second part depicts an issue resulting from the amassing of objects, that is the tasks of preserving and cataloguing the collection. A general inventory was created as well as an entry register, with an alphabetic index. By the end of 1909, only 1,821 artifacts out of a total of 4,000 had been catalogued, with the exception of the coin, mineral, photograph, old books and manuscripts collections, kept in the library, as a special section[19].

The *Observations* section of *Transilvania* 1910, nr. 3 contains the mention of a first article published abroad (*Zeitschrift für Österreichische*, nr. XV, fasc. V-VI,

[17] Transilvania, 1910 (1-2): 38-42.
[18] Transilvania, 1910 (1-2): 40.
[19] Transilvania, 1911 (4): 471.

1909, signed by Anton Dochler), which presents the ethnographic museums of Central Europe, mentioning among others the Museum of Sibiu: "The Romanian Museum of Sibiu is a national establishment of Romanians, who, emboldened by the results obtained by Saxons, work with similar means. Despite not being open for the public, it can be visited on request. It contains household items, tools, cloths and the well known Romanian crates, carpets with geometric ornaments and different color schemes with black and dark red. [...] There are numerous works by shepherds, who create wood carvings to pass the time and are skillful in this trade"[20]. The paragraph continues on a rather modest and realist note: "If the Association members intensely support this museum, it might become one of the most important Romanian national institutions"[21].

In May 1910, at the *Observation* section of the same journal there was also a mention of an article published in *Literary conversations* by Al. Tzigara-Samurcaș, director of the Bucharest Museum of Ethnography and National Art, regarding the status of provincial museums, the ASTRA Museum being present as follows: "Corollary to what transpires in the country, one must point out, beyond the Carpathian Range, the establishment of the «Association Museum» in Sibiu, opened in 1905. The situation there is quite different from the one in the capital of Romania. Sibiu has a prominent palace, with the above mentioned name on its front facade. The museum proper however is far from what one can see outside; the collections are lost in this palace. The museum is grand in the imagination and hope of its creators and leaders. And I am certain that, through his skill and tenacity, Mr. O. Tăslăuanu will succeed in creating the ideal desired by all. When the collections will be large and significant enough to earn the denomination of Museum, then the name will be worthy of the palace it occupies."[22]. Also taking into account several recommendations and after a proper analysis, the museum's custodian submitted some brave proposals to the Central Comittee in order to improve museographical activity. Among them – travels for ethnographic purposes in different lands inhabited by Romanians, with the aim of gathering and purchasing different artifacts, despite having the insignificant budget of 1 000 crowns. Furthermore, another proposal involved hiring a photographer or a painter for different artistic purposes.

In April 1910, the Central Committee and Dej General Assembly authorized these travels, providing a daily wage of 10 crowns, and also covering travel expanses, but demanding a detailed report of every activity. Tăslăuanu also suggested to photograph the most important artifacts in the museum and then publish the photos in *Transilvania magazine*, alongside their description, at the same time creating a database for the museum's illustrated catalogue. Having been given full autonomy in organizing the museum, he began an ethnographic

[20] Transilvania, 1910 (3): 137.
[21] Ibidem.
[22] Transilvania, 1910 (5): 376.

"campaign" in Bran, during Pentecost, where he paid 57 crowns for the following artifacts: a coat, a wall rug, a puppet inventory, four shirts, 80 Roman coins, and a towel. He was also gifted a photograph of a sheepfold, a candle holder, a shirt from Bran, a hunter's bag, an old plate, and three broad belts. He was accompanied by Emil Fischer[23], who took several photographs of traditional interiors, houses, and groups of people wearing traditional garments.

Photo 4: Georgeta Tăslăuanu (sister), Adelina Tăslăuanu (wife) and priestess Anisia Tăslăuanu (mother), in popular garments from Bilbor[27]

In the autumn of 1910 (2nd-18th September) he traveled to Giurgeu (Ciuc County), where he found 138 objects of value, spending 588 crowns, and created an inventory of historical and art monuments in the area. During the journey, he also conducted research on household industries, sheepherding, aiming to publish the results in an ethnographic paper about Giurgeu[24]. Moreover, according to the Central Committee's Decision nr. 289/1910, Octavian C. Tăslăuanu planned to create the following year, with the help of Bicaz locals, the Giurgeu Department. The gathering was unfortunately halted by the Tulgheş Praetor. However, after appealing to the Interior Ministry, this decision was overruled, and a year later, the meeting took place on 27th May 1912. He organized a cultural celebration as well as lectures, theatre performances, and a beautiful ethnographic exhibit in the garden of Toader Cruşitu, the director of the local bank[25]. He gathered 65 objects, 30 being donations, the remaining being purchased with 114 crowns and 20 bani[26]. He continued his ethnographic studies in the area, visiting several villages as well as his native land of Bilbor and its surroundings (Borsec, Corbu, Tulgheş, Topliţa, Varviz (today Subcetate), Deda, etc., alongside his photographer friend, Teodor R. Popescu, who managed to capture the social-demographic and ethnographic changes in the region, echt cultural and historical-

[23] Voina, 2010: 124.
[24] Transilvania, 1911 (4): 471.
[25] Transilvania, 1912 (3-4): 278.
[26] Transilvania, 1912 (6): 562.
[27] Transilvania, 1907 (22): 476.

ethnographic documents, found today in the collection of the ASTRA Museum Complex and the Museum of the Romanian Peasant. Thusly, by the end of 1910, 319 new artifacts had been added to the collection, costing 1,356.50 crowns.

The following table presents the works that took place in 1911, and contains a full report by Octavian C. Tăslăuanu on the museum's patrimony. 574 objects were purchased with 396.60 crowns, mostly from the ethnographic expo during the meeting of the Hungarian Lăpuș Department (now Târgu Lăpuș). Due to excessive paper work needed for the 50th celebration of the «Association», no field ethnographic field trip was undertaken. Although Octavian C. Tăslăuanu had been requesting the hiring of someone who would help with numbering the collection and drafting the chart catalogue, a graduate of the Budapest Commercial Academy, Ioan Banciu, was hired a bookeeper and deputy custodian only on 1st November 1912, and was tasked to help with the museum's management (four hour dailys schedule).

A less known fact is that că Octavian C. Tăslăuanu paid the salary of Ioan Banciu, out of his own pocket, for the first two months, a sum amounting to 160 crowns. During the first meeting of 1913, he requested a reimbursement of the sum to the Central Committee.

Repertoir of ethnographic artifacts al purchased by Octavian C. Tăslăuanu for «Association» Museum of Sibiu, 1911[28] (synthesis)

1911						
Donations						
Crt. no.	**Date**		**Description**	**No.**	**Origin**	**Price (cr.)**
	Month	**Day**				
1	March	17	Women ornamental front cloth	6	Sibiu	-
2	March	17	Towel	3	Sibiu	-
3	March	17	Ornamental weave	4	Sibiu	-
4	March	17	Head cover	1	Sibiu	-
5	March	17	Women shirts (ii)	4	Sibiu	-
6	March	17	Head gear	3	Sibiu	-
TOTAL				**21**		-
Purchases						
1	December	31	Pitcher	63	Rășinari	63
2	December	31	Broken pitcher	23	Rășinari	4.60
3	December	31	Large bowls	5	Rășinari	25
4	December	31	Medium bowls	5	Rășinari	15
5	December	31	Broad bowls	10	Rășinari	15
6	December	31	Food cupboard	1	Țara Făgărașului	20
7	December	31	Manuscripts and correspondence of Ioan Pop Reteganul	1	Țara Făgărașului	200
TOTAL				**108**		**342.6**

[28] Transilvania, 1912 (5): 414-415.

In order to properly arrange the collection, the Central Committee provided three rooms for the museum, temporarily divided into six sections: *I. The historical-cultural section* (books, manuscripts, portraits); *II. The ecclesiastical section* (icons, crosses, precious religious objects); *III. The artistic section* (paintings and sculptures); *IV. Household*, divided by region; *V. The garment and customs section*; *VI. The craftsman section* (wooden sculptures, pottery etc.)[29].

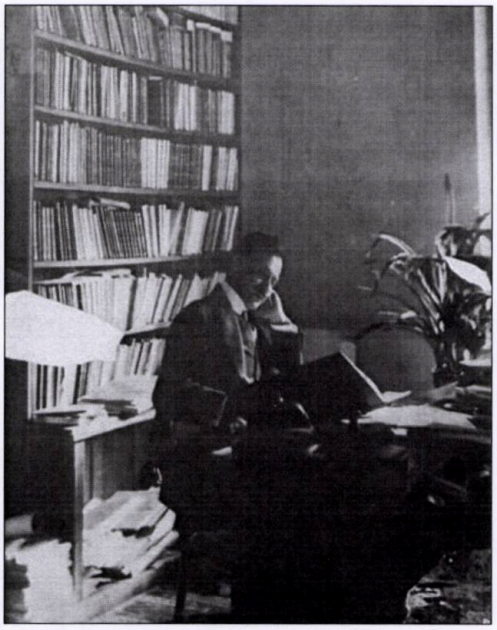

Photo 5: Octavian C. Tăslăuanu, in his work office at ASTRA Sibiu (6 Şaguna Street), 1912. Source: photograph provided by Stela Mitruţă, daughter of Cornel Tăslăuanu

A highly impressive and meticulous work – the report on the status of the museum's ethnographic patrimony at the end of 1912 (see the table), showing an increase in objects by 578 donations and purchases (a total sum of 706.70 crowns), mostly brought by Octavian C. Tăslăuanu from Bicaz ethnographic exhibit. This emphasizes the hard and systematic work of Tăslăuanu [30]. Out of the 2,571 artifacts gathered by 1912 "almost one thousand were gathered by me, on my ethnographic voyages. [...] As the Central Committee can see, my work for the Museum has been quite satisfactory. These hard things, I did without pay. I did it, because it is fascinating, and I did it for the sake of the institution"[31].

At the end of 1913, the museum's collection increased by 68 artifacts, mostly donations, while in 1914 by another 101. Volume 1-6/1915 of *Transilvania Magazine*, the *"Personal" Section*, only briefly mentions that Tăslăuanu was removed from his duties, stating that "Mr. *Oct. C. Tăslăuanu* was dismissed from the position of administrative secretary of the Association, on 1st June 1915"[32].

After only three months of service on the Galician front, as officer of the Austrian-Hungarian Army, he crossed the border at Mehadia, settling in Bucharest[33].

[29] Idem: 416.
[30] Niţu, 1978: 126.
[31] Transilvania, 1913 (4-5): 326.
[32] Transilvania, 1915 (1-6): 93.
[33] Tăslăuanu, 1915: 351.

Repertoir of ethnographic artifacts al purchased by Octavian C. Tăslăuanu for the «Association Museum» of Sibiu, 1912[34] **(synthesis)**

1912						
Donations						
Crt. No.	**Date**		**Description**	**No.**	**Origin**	**Price (crowns)**
	Month	**Year**				
1	June	22	Old coins, 21 silver and 29 copper	50	Bicaz	-
Purchases						
1	February	10	Photographs of Romanina garments	13	Orăştiei County	26
2	February	10	Photographs	100	Turnu Roşu, Sibiu	285.50
3	April	16	Silver and bronze coins	10	Sălişte	1
4	July	5	Woman breast plate, woman coat and bag	3	Bucium, Apuseni Mountains	25
5	September	7	Photographs of garments	104	Giurgeu	246
6	September	7	Portrait of composer G. Dima, by Guiscardo Conte di Sbraia	1	Braşov	10
7	October	5	Woman shirt	7	Bicaz	40
8	October	5	Woman shirt	7	Telec	26
9	October	5	Woman shirt	1	Jidanului Valley	6
10	October	5	Man shirt	1	Bicaz	6
11	October	5	Towels	2	Bicaz	3
12	October	5	Old front ornamental	2	Bicaz	7
13	October	5	Broad belts	3	Bicaz	9
14	October	5	Bags	2	Bicaz	3
15	October	5	Icon	1	Bicaz	1
16	October	5	Wooden crate	2	Bicaz	2.20
17	October	5	Wooden shovel	1	Jidanului Valley	1
18	October	5	Cloth washing hammer	2	Telec	1
19	October	5	Wooden candle holder	1	Telec	1
20	October	5	Necklace and cross	2	Telec	2
21	October	5	Wooden crate (painted)	1	Bicaz	5
TOTAL				**266**		**706.70**

Thus, on 8th February 1919, the Central Committee overruled the previous decision and fully reinstated Tăslăuanu as administrative secretary for the entirety of the First World War, receiving his retroactive payments as well [35]. Acting as chief of the Political Information and Propaganda Service, part of the Army's Intelligence Department, he requested to be on leave without any pay until the army's demobilization and his arrival in Sibiu[36]. A fighting spirit, eager to be part of the process of reforming Greater Romania, he was elected deputy from Tulgheş, at the 1919 elections, as representative of the People's League[37]. Caught in the political

[34] Transilvania, 1913 (4-5): 324-325.
[35] Transilvania, 1919 (1-12): 31-32.
[36] Idem: 32.
[37] Tofan et Niță, 2018: 69.

struggle, he would never return to Sibiu, despite the recall of 24th September 1919, as the «Association» needed to renew its activity, ceased during the war, and needed capable staff.

Therefore, the position of administrative secretary passed to Romul Simu, while the museographical tasks to Ioan Banciu, who was also book keeper and librarian. In 1936, in *"Memories from «Luceafărul»"* (Confessions V), Octavian C. Tăslăuanu wrote a description of his cultural activity as administrative secretary of ASTRA, concluding "... If my activity had not been interrupted by war, the grand and long-established cultural society from Ardeal would have flourished, although my initiatives would have come into conflict with „the central committee", a difficult to work assembly, as without its approval my hands were tied. [...] I presented some information about *Astra*, as I had given it my best years of my life. I have given it the energy of my soul, never thinking of gratification. But I did not expect the shameful ingratitude that followed"[38].

From all the information (1906-1914), the qualities of O. C. Tăslăuanu as collector are undeniable[39] as well as the status of creator of one of the most credible and important resources of template museum documents, designed with a thoroughness that still amazes today. The nobility of his activity also derives from the fact that he acted as editor of *Luceafărul* and *Transilvania magazines,* alongside his museographical pursuit. He actively participated at ASTRA Central Library's endowment and enrichment[40]. We would also like to emphasize the fact that "despite his inability to create a «ethno-museographical school» [...], he continually encouraged his peers, especially the ones who joined him in collecting valuable artifacts"[41].

Among all who worked as custodians, he proved to be the most devoted to his work, but also the most intelligent, and open to new possibilities, acting with responsibility, consistency and realism in every report: "I must say that, without resources and the necessary staff, the «Association» Museum will face insurmountable difficulties"[42]. Other affirmations, like the one found in *"Personalities of Ardeal. Octavian C. Tăslăuanu"* from *Ardealul*, year I, nr. 22 of 12th-19th July 1941, unsigned: "[...] As director of the Association Museum, driven by the same wild work spirit that had possessed him all his life, he also found time for ethnographic field trips, gathering a multitude of artifacts for the museum and collecting a massive amount of data and information for a monumental work, *The ethnography of Ardeal*. Unfortunately, this work was lost and the gathered material scattered during the war".

The History Museum of Sibiu still exhibits two volumes with the inventory registers of the «Association» Museum (vol. I, nr. 1-5 000 and vol. II, nr. 5 000-10

[38] Tăslăuanu, 1936: 102-103.
[39] Datcu, 1978: 115.
[40] Cucu, 1978: 62.
[41] Grama, 2002: 111.
[42] Transilvania, 1912 (5): 416.

000), revealing valuable information on the purchases and donations from the time Octavian C. Tăslăuanu, with devotion, patriotism and professionalism, was coordinating the museographical activity[43]. Unfortunately, his successors did not manage to live up to his standards[44], Tăslăuanu himself stating: "After the war, Astra could have become that most important cultural institution in Greater Romania, if its leadership had been more capable. Without hiding its merits and without closely following its path, I have seen, however, that it is struggling, unaware of the path to take, to insure a life worthy of its past"[45].

The year 1950 is the end of the museum in the ASTRA Palace. The last remaining thing that still reminds passersby of the old museum is the exterior inscription, which miraculously survived wars and changes[46]. What followed was a chaotic transfer of the entire collection of 50 000 objects to Brukenthal National Museum, on the banks of Cibin, unfortunately destroying its integrity, as only roughly 8 500 items were saved[47].

Therefore, we firmly support the opinion of several ethno-museographs and researchers that Octavian C. Tăslăuanu is to be considered the *creator of the Romanian ethnographic patrimony of Transylvania.*

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[43] Lăcătuşu, 2005: 55.
[44] Marc, 2010: 177.
[45] Tăslăuanu, 1936: 103.
[46] Bucur, 2016: 267.
[47] Bucur, 2002: 31.

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HERITAGE REINTERPRETATION: SHIFTING PERSPECTIVE IN *FRANZ BINDER MUSEUM OF UNIVERSAL ETHNOGRAPHY* IN SIBIU, ROMANIA

ADRIANA AVRAM

ABSTRACT[1]

Universal ethnography museums are institutions that, by their core mission, preserve and display traditions and tradition-based objects from around the world. But museums are also entangled actors of their own tradition of doing things, focused on objects as atomic unit (that eventually fail to speak for themselves). This paper brings into discussion the shift in paradigm that affects world cultures museums worldwide and that is visibile in our country, too. While their "ethnographic" character has been questioned and challenged gradually starting with the rise of postmodern anthropology, the future of museum tradition implies adapting to change in the anthropological approach to museum-making and museification of the past. On the verge of our museum reorganization, the case study presents how reinterpretation of already investigated sources tailored the thematic design of the 2018 temporary exhibition "Egyptian Mummies: an European Story" (October 2018 – June 2019).

Keywords: reinterpretation, postcolonial, museumification, wonder, orientalism.

> Motto: *We need experiments in exhibition design that try to present multiple perspectives or admit the highly contingent nature of the interpretation offered* (Lavine and Karp 1991, 7).

Splitting off the 19th century world cultures collections from their colonial mindset would be like denying anthropology's genealogy as science from the very

[1] This paper develops the presentation "Colonial mindset and the metareferential turn in world cultures museum practice" delivered at the *Decolonising the museum in practice* conference organized by Oxford University and Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, U.K., between April 14-17, 2018.

same context. Negating the contamination of this *spirit of the time* beyond administrative borders would be equally misleading. How could one avoid perpetuating the same framing and get rid of an euro-centric discourse?

This paper intends to present how postcolonial theories impact the museological tradition of contemporary musems, trend that is equally reflected in *Franz Binder* world cultures museum from Sibiu, Romania. This is done by going from general to specific as concerns the impact of theories on practice, which leads to why and how a certain structure of the curatorial discourse was chosen over more traditional ones.

Firstly, I present why the theme is timely and relevant. The paper starts with an overview that reflects the theoretical shift in paradigm which makes museum worldwide question their discourse and staging of the past. From the perspective of this study, these are relevant as *Franz Binder* museum from Sibiu, by its core mission, attempts to upgrade and address the mainstream of public expectancies. Most "ethnographic" collections of extra-European artifacts constituted mainly during the 19th century and hosted by Europe are now under scrutiny of both specialists and public eyes due to the (neo)colonial system of authority and power they embedded and perpetuated.

The text moves on to presenting the preferred framing solution that was implemented in practice. That was to move away the focus from the object and to emphasize the museological phenomenon that led to the nowadays encounter between visitor, object and invisible curator who proposes (or imposes) a visible story. The story of wonder cabinets was retold as main theme highlighting the reinterpretation I gave to sources. According to this structure, the practical study presents the temporary exhibition that embedded those principles into the macro labelling of the display.

Extrapolating from this experience, I expose considerations regarding the benefits of changing focus from objects themselves to genealogy of collections and to questioning the framing generally provided by curators, content generators and promoters of knowledge. The paper pleads for a reinterpretation of context sources in Romanian museums in order to provide an enhanced and more relevant museum experience to the end beneficiary.

Research for this paper is based on literature that covers the issues of museum discourse and postcolonial bias, orientalism and wonder while exhibiting cultures. Documentation for the exhibition aimed to identify and reinterpret sources that were either dedicated to specialist public, or unreveiled within the main exhibition of the museum.[2] As concerns secondary sources, providing insight on the corpus of my research these have been mainly identified based on Bozan

[2] The exhibition "From the culture and arts of peoples of the world" was open between May 1993 and August 2015 in the museum headquarters from Piata Mica, Sibiu, Romania. Website of *Franz Binder* Museum available at http://www.binder.muzeulastra.ro/colectii.html, accessed 29.06.2019.

(2013) paper in "Cibinium Journal" of ASTRA National Museum Complex, which institutionally integrates "Franz Binder" Museum (established in 1993). Several curators or researchers from the museum have published their findings or presented the museum and its projects in local or national cultural reviews. No less than 50 titles (including both scientific papers and promotional materials, relevant for the museum's own voice) are available for in-depth discourse and findings analysis.

WORLD CULTURE COLLECTIONS IN *FRANZ BINDER* MUSEUM/ASTRA NATIONAL MUSEUM COMPLEX

Not aside from the mainstream of transformations and under reorganization procedure since 2015, *Franz Binder* Museum of Universal Ethnography from Sibiu, Romania, needs to balance the chance for updating and reinventing itself with the fact of being anchored in the very same system of objects: its exotic collections. *Franz Binder* is the only universal ethnography museum in Romania. Its old collections started around 150 years ago as private, later to become scientific donations towards the Transylvanian Society of Nature Sciences here in Sibiu/Hermannstadt, and now rise up to almost 1000 pieces from around the world, predominantly Africa and Asia. *Franz Binder* Museum from Sibiu, Transylvania, is the only museum of world cultures in Romania and a good example of how colonial context left its mark on the early collections even if this historical region was not a part of a colonizing administration. Postcolonial-type discourse could also leave its mark on museum practice. These are current challenges in reorganizing the main exhibition. One way of denouncing this perspective is to reflect it, make it obvious, make it a reference point and then pass on to a stage in which the self-reflexive museum builds the frame for a deeper understanding of the collections. It should be made clear that it was not the museum, but the collectors who had ownership of both the *imperial gaze* over the faraway people and the *early voice* narrating a profoundly biased story.

This could be a major challenge for an "universal ethnography" mid-sized museum (around 5000 artifacts, highly heterogenous structure of the collections), in global postcolonial times from a nowadays country without an *ad-litteram* colonial past. So, I had to come up with a new display concept while casting the "same old" on the stage *and* meet the constraints of the mandate, that is to keep up with the spirit of our time as pinned by Morin (1983). It is characterized by decolonizing museum discourse worldwide through "remediation, as the earlier assumption of epistemological authority does not extend comfortably within the post-colonial situation. One can no longer be content to use earlier examples of material culture for the purpose of depicting cultures, ethnic groups, thereby reasserting the logos of ethnos or an existing range of outdated anthropological theme" (Deliss 2015, 28).

In order to open up, diminish extension transference (Hall 1977), i.e., meaning to hand over of authority and gatekeeping power from public to museum,

these institutions need to do research and display the conditions of their own production and reproduction, and that of their collections, understanding themselves before explaining the artifacts to outside publics.

CHANGE IN AND ABOUT WORLD ETHNOGRAPHY MUSEUMS

Regarding the larger, postcolonial context, the main trend in literature is to point out that colonialism, rather than an administrative form, is a worldview that involves power, authority and symbolic interactions that are ongoing up to our days and are not limited to the interactions unfolding between *ad litteram* former colonial powers and their colonies. De L'Estoile (2008) made relevant contributions to an "anthropology of colonial legacies" also showing that "The taste of others" (2007) evolved from etnographic exhibitions that display the diversity of cultures encompassed by the empire to the pedagogical programs in the "Quai Branly" museum, according to the ways being European was constructed in an alterity mode.

Museums of world cultures are under increasing pressure to interpret and raise awareness of global (post)colonial mainstreams of thought and action towards publics whose level of expectations may have remained framed by the enchantement of wonder cabinets. Placing old "ethnographic" heritage in the larger context of its production and evolution is not a new approach, yet there are many ways to tackle it and restage older exhibitions based on the same core collections. This may imply displacement of focus from objects in the collections to their critical geanalogy as a whole, while "ethnography" itself is no longer a neutral term.

There are many similarities in the way museums of world cultures and their collections came into existence around Europe. At this point, many museums' main display theme is "unity in diversity", tackling (post)colonialism in a more or less overt manner. However, there is a gap, an unresolved tension, an imbalance between the general discourse and the final display. The discourse about the museum practice has adopted postcolonial features, but not so much in the exhibitions themselves. The conditions of collections production are still in the background, while the exhibits are left to "speak for themselves", as if museums are shy about, or even avoid putting self-reflexivity on display. This comes as no surprise, since museums have to re-interpret objects that have already been collected and collections that have already been constituted, reflecting the spirit of their time and the interest of their collectors, in asymmetric and unfair power relations. This would make museums mediate their own negative history.

Non-European "ethnographic" collections came into being in various ways. Travel for trade, military, missionary purpose, accidental or direct scientific objectives or for the simple longing for adventure and opportunities are just some of the main reasons cross-cultural encounters produced collections of anthropological interest. These collections, initially private, ended up in museums that today reflect the cultures worldwide.

On the other hand, there is also a need for increased self-reflexivity while embracing the *new ethnography*, in which "contextualization should always be aware of the fundamental new ethnographic observation that the context and form of what accounts as truth is mediated by those same social structures of domination, which we are trying to describe in the first place" (Saukko 2003, 69). Even if our museum intended to avoid the trap of postcolonial biased discourse in previous main display characterized by emphasis of pan-human gestures[3], this should also be a cornerstone for the next one.

"From one point of view, the most powerful agents in the construction of identity appear to be neither the producers of objects nor the audience but the exhibition makers themselves, who have the power to mediate among parties who will not come intro face-to-face contact" (Lavine and Karp 1991, 15). Thus, one major issue cross-cutting through today museum practice would be to question its own status: museums between public speakers and academic-type knowledge producers. Previously and still largely acknowledged by the public as an authorative voice, the truthmaking museum is a word smith, if not a forger, itself. It sets the cultural agenda on what is socially perceived and accepted as heritage value and what is not.

As Lavine and Karp argue, "we need experiments in exhibition design that try to present multiple perspectives or admit the highly contingent nature of the interpretation offered" (1991, 7). Even if still conducted today by the logic and values of western binary reason, one tends to accept the inadequacies of former conception of cultures being static or the observers being detached. Instead I would argue for museums to produce and distribute knowledge on diversity and subjectivity. Insofar, "the idea is not to find outside the work (of art) some rock onto which interpretation can be securely chained but rather to situate the work in relation to other representational practices operative in the culture at a given moment in both its history and our own" (Greenblatt 1991, 43).

Displaying and interpreting cultures in "universal" or "world etnhography" museums rises up a number of issues that are now on international debate more than ever. On the one hand, authors such as Stocking (1988) and Fabian (2004) are questioning the "ethnographic object" and the "ethnographic museum". They point out that these are intellectual categories that serve less and less our understanding of the constitution of our museums and that it could be misleading to assert that this type of museum objects is truth-making about the communities they emerged from.

On the other hand, postmodern anthropology, as Troc (2006) points out, is largely tributary to the volume "Writing Cultures" edited by Clifford and Marcus in 1992. It was then that the authors highlighted that most interpretation of ethnographic encounters should be conceived through the lens of symbolic power

[3] Even if dismantled in 2015, visitors can take a virtual tour of closed main exhibition available at http://www.muzeulastra.ro/vizitare/vizita-virtuala.html.

structures at play. Anticipating this trend, Clifford Geertz (1973, 89) was also the one to support the idea of a semiotic concept of culture, feeding on symbols, as "a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life."

If a museum of world cultures today can be understood as a "precipitation in specific forms" (Troc 2006) of the postmodern anthropological trend, the way cultures are interpreted in museum context is also largely discussed in the volume "Exhibiting cultures" edited by Karp and Lavine in 1991. This volume made an important contribution to the field of museum studies by bringing forward the idea that focus should be shifted from object to context and that the authority of the truth-making museum should be challenged.

At its turn, more recently, the Actor Network Theory (ANT) developed by Latour (2005) brought a ferment to the museum world in that it helped raise the question of the agency of museum objects within the interconnected networks of their producers, collectors, donors, and curators. When introducing the book "Reassembling Museum Collections", Harrison (2013: 30) shows that Tony Bennett (chapter 2) draws on Latour's discussion of museums as centers of (and for) the collection and calculation of "immutable and combinable mobiles" (1987: 227) and, as Bennett puts it, "objects and texts that, no matter how old they are or how far distant from the sites at which they were collected, are 'conveniently at hand and combinable at will'". This points out the fact that objects are to be brought together in order to support a narrative that is curated today, to illustrate an idea that may or may not have been part of the initial intention when the object was collected and museified in the first place. I argue that a further step should be made towards "reassembling the museum". This is particularly important for museums that have to redesign their main display, which is also the case of "Franz Binder" Museum, hence to come up with a common denominator for illustrating their becoming what they are today, and the covert agendas entangled with their constitution as a whole, "for in our shrinking globe man can ill afford cultural illiteracy" (Hall 1977, 40).

Considering now the collections in this case (i.e. 19th century colonial-typed collections, diplomatic gifts and post-colonial collection) one may think of them as closed collections, closed systems of objects in Baudrillard's (1996) vision. These collections can no longer be enlarged, only reassembled within curatorial practice when selection is made, value is attributed according to compliance with one narrative intent or another.

I also argue that generally museum discourse is more transparent only if explicitly exposed as such. Tatar (1998: 9) points out that "since the intention of the author cannot be taken as something present at hand in the process of interpretation, the problem of the historicity and temporality of text becomes decisive whenever the author's intention is discussed". When one considers an

exhibition in its textuality, placing agents in their time, space and mainstream cultural approaches, it becomes decisive for the process of understanding what their initial intent may have been and why the collections are structured as such.

Taking one step further, and applying the frame of ANT, as many authors in Byrne's edited volume "Unpacking the collection" point out, what was left out of these "ethnographic" collections is often as important as what was included in the first place. This is why hermeneutic analysis of archive texts and structure of collections becomes not only relevant but crucial to interpretation of heritage.

This is not a new approach in museums accross the world either. Critics about museums biased discourse have been pinned by many practitioners, such as Susan Vogel (1991, 200): "The museum is teaching – expressly, as part of an education program and an articulated agenda, but also subtly, almost unconsciusly – a system of highly political values expressed not only in the syle of presentation but in myriad facets of its operation. [...] None of these things is neutral. None is overt."

Maran and Stockhammer (2012) also reflect on the materiality of social practice, showing that "the significance of such items does not derive from the transfer from one place to another as such but, rather, from the ways in which they were used and contextualised. The main question is how, through their integration into discourses and practices, new frameworks of meaning were created conforming neither with what had existed in the receiving society nor in the area of origin of the objects."

To sum up, under the pressure of embracing changes from the internal and external environment and to increase self-reflexivity, museums are challenged to rethink all along the way they fulfill their mission, balancing a more experience-oriented museum practice with relying mostly on the same-old heritage collections and principles of ethical practice. Is there a way one could embed change in interpretative practice without having to lose sight of museum core values, that is of the most valuable heritage items in heritage collections?

A change in focus tends to be rather a look from above or from the outside, a narrative not about the items in the collections or their communities of origin but about the fact that what we, as museums, may perpetuate a construal made in Europe, for Europeans. I consider this would be primeval for staging museum experiences meant to trigger better understanding of the museological framing behind today's exhibits. In practice, since exhibitions need their own project design, this paper then looks into the rationale and scope of embracing a change in focus, a reframing meant to resonate with the spirit of the time and current museological trends. The concept of "framing" was included to emphasize the general purpose of the thesis, since "all of the different approaches to 'frames' converge in one frame function, namely to guide and even to enable interpretation" (Bernhart and Wolf eds. 2006).

By analogy to visual effects in photographic art, I am keen on providing deeper *depth of field* between different layers of information or knowledge.

THE RETURN OF "THE WONDER"

Contributing to the volume "After Writing Culture" (2004), Macdonald wrote in "The Museum as mirror. Ethnographic reflections" (161) that:

> Museums, like anthropology, have experienced a version of the so-called 'crisis of representation'. 1 Questions have been raised about the legitimacy of established styles and conventions of exhibition, about authority and authorization, about silences and marginalization, and about accountability and audience. A museum, I suggest, is well suited for providing such illumination, for not only is it part of a familiar Western cultural framework, it also offers parallels and overlaps with ethnography's own institutional context, politics and practices. That is, it mirrors and collides with aspects of the ethnographic endeavor itself.

Could one understand the phenomenon better by wondering about the wonder? If I talk about the *status quo* to be challenged by world cultures museums, in my opinion that would be to get out of *Curiosity*, a level where the story of wonder cabinets may be retold by themselves. Re-enacting a curiosity cabinet as a curiosity in itself – this has been my option.

What happened to the last centuries' wonder cabinets, these forms of proto-museums, later to evolve into "ethnographic" collections and then synergic institutions of world cultures across today Europe? Those rooms full of curiosity objects, build up and made accessible by their owners, often their very collectors, for many different reasons – illuminist intentions being just one among many others. As Alpers notes, *much has been said of the ideology of power, political and intelectual, engaged in both the collecting of objects and the taxonomic manner of ordering them* (1991, 26).

Those rooms were packed with what was then considered strange or explanatory for the cultural view of the Other, so that visitors could get the thrill of exotic places and faces. Nowadays, the thrill is either much gone or much handy through a miriad of multimedia including "walking" the streets of whatever faraway city one can hardly spell, just a few clicks away, once going online.

Thus, the display was meant to tell the story of times when *naturalia* and *artificialia* were collected and carefully transported to the homeland of their collectors, when ethnography had not been born as a science in its won rights yet, and that of their musealisation up to our days. Placing wonder cabinets in their historicity could break the enchantment yet compensate by deeper insight on the phenomenon. Far from being obsolete or losing their intrinsic value, the wonderful objects that culturally mapped distant places just a century ago would now simply enrich in significance by moving from the front of the stage, or from soloist-like

position, to the background, so their shared discourse could better interpret the story behind the very museum performance. It would be an actualization, a *here* and *now* of the *back then* and *out there*.

The collections are closed, stagnant, not dynamic. They are systems of objects where intention, occasion and also obscure yet mundane conditions merge, conditions that will remain forever unknown to us, mixed together in variable ratios that are also moslty unknown to us (only few collectors left written accounts). Even if heritage interpretation starts on the field, our field is not that of their communities of origin, but that of their collector's life and general environment (either social, economic, symbolic etc.). The museum only collected the collections, without being involved in their constitution in the first place. I start with the assumption that all those objects entered the collections in more than one way, the main modalities being all based on some form of exchange: either buying, gift receiving or other practice that normally has for consequence a modification in ownership. Actually, there is no way that one could discern between the *ad-litteram* collecting practices and gift exchanging. While the intentional collection is purposeful in view of re-collecting, of marking or mapping a natural or cultural context (still based on subjective criteria), the collection of gifts is highly dependable on the situational feedback of the environment the collector is merged into, as pointed by Mauss (1997). For both cases, the common denominator would be the colonial framing, an imperial gaze common to all Europeans alike when confronted to non-european cultures, the purest Orientalist approach in Edward Said's terms (1977).

The change in focus I wish to address does not refer to necessarily changing the message, unraveling new meanings from old collections or exposing new and exciting features that had not been accounted for ever before. It is about the *construction* of the message, defining and refining the multi-layered discourse as prime preoccupation, instead of concentrating on the display of the items in itself. It is about leaning towards a project management approach of the experience economy, starting with scoping for what I require to obtain. This curatorial approach would require both an in-depth study of the collection and an integrative effort to refine a common denominator as main theme to be conveyed to the public. Overencoding or heavy metaphorisation is a trap that sabotages the very delivery of the message.

By analogy with a photograph, the direction I chose to explore in this respect is that of increasing and enreaching "field depth", giving the visitors the possibility to place their own focus in the displayed scenery. Just like focusing the lens of the camera from front to background, multi-layered discourse can include, in the same framing of metareferential wonder: the cultural objects, ellements of their context of origin and the hermeneutics of their becoming, together with sensoric cues meant to trigger visitor's deeper engagement with the intended narrative.

A shift of focus from one system of reference (layer) to another would bring more depth of field in the display of the cultural goods in question since "the notion of the 'system' of reference [...] underlies the concept of metareference" (Bantleon and Haselsteiner-Scharner 2009, pp 383). "It should be brought to attention, though, that the general view axis actually originates outside the photographic image, namely in the viewpoint of the real (extra-pictorial) observer" (idem, pp 365).

Invariably, such an approach relies on an exhibition *about* the objects, not *of* objects, where props and additional material may amount up as high as 80 percent of the total exhibited content. This way, the focus of curatorial practice also changes from documenting the exhibits to designing a textuality that should include all layers of presentation intended to be conveyed to the public in the *deeper field.*

Having committed in this paper to using the analogy with photographic art, my own *depth of field* is given by free jumping to and fro several *layers* within a common *frame*. For theorizing but also for project management reasons I am presenting them as falling under different categories, neatly separated from one another, and in a spatial succesion. In fact, and in display, narrations intermingle, even if I propose to the visitors sensoric cues in order to support the specific decoding of the text (color codes, sygnalectics easy to read etc.). These are to be perceived entertwined, entangled, not artificially separated, as there are many other constraints to be taken into account when designing a museum experience that are outside the scope of this paper.

EGYPTIAN MUMMIES: A EUROPEAN STORY

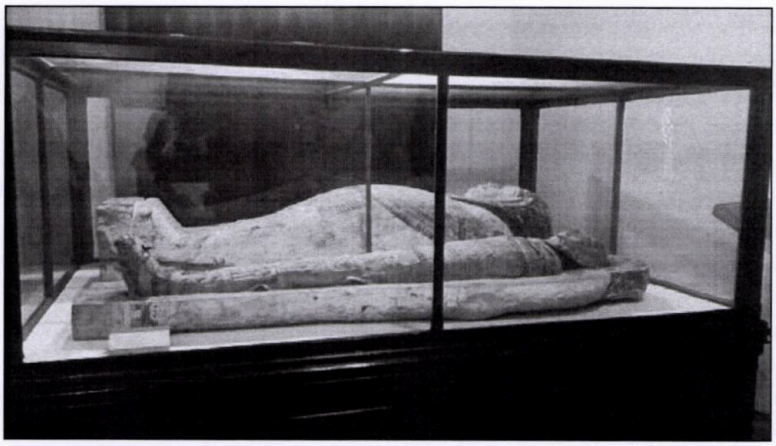

Photo 1a,b: Egyptian mummy with sarcophagus in exhibition room, 2018. Photo credit Astra Museum

This exhibition was based on recurrent theme in our museum's display program, due to the fact that some of the oldest and highly valuable items in our heritage collections come from Egypt. All pieces have been collected and brought in the second half of the 19th century and early 20th century by collectors such as Franz Binder (whose founding African collection gave name and shape to our museum), F. Jickeli or Herman von Hannenheim, the former Austro-Hungarian consul to Cairo[4].

The framing was meant to be plainly and obviously presented from the entrance to the exhibition, so unavoidable so that the very purpose of the display could not escape even to the unengaged visitor: *it is not about Egyptian mummies, it is about the story we have made ourselves about it for the last 150 years.* Textual and props-based scenography are the foundation for the construction of this level. It started with a narrative about the original mindset of the collecting practice, highly biased by the colonial times and orientalist habitus. It is also about the evolution of museology. In between, this framing is about self reflexivity of the curator(s), and about the fact that all exhibitional practice is intrinsically authorship, one's perspective, including while ommitting, imposing rather than proposing, and offering a view point that could and even should be questioned, metaphorically half way between a translation and a press editorial.

This level contains the genealogy and the museological history of the objects once they became *museum objects.* It is about unveiling the *museum effect*, essential for gaining heritage literacy. What made an object a *collectible*? Why was it perceived as exotic? Is it about the search of the familiar in the unfamiliar and

[4] Themes such as the travel have been presented before, within the main display (Bozan 1993) or in temporary exhibitions (Bernath and Bozan 2010, Mareş 2015). The wonder cabinet have only been on display up to 1957, organized as visitable storage.

vice-versa? What is the relation between difference and diversity? And how are natural and cultural history entangled?

Photo 2: Egyptian mummy with sarcophagus. Reproduction of photograph from 1934 catalogue *Guide to the Collections of the Association* edited by The Transylvanian Association for Natural Sciences (*Călăuza colecțiunilor Asociației*). The mummy has later undergone visible restoration procedure in abdominal area

Mumiile egiptene:
o poveste europeană
24 octombrie 2018 – 2 iunie 2019
Casa Hermes, Piața Mică, nr. 11
Vernisaj: miercuri, 24 octombrie 2018, ora 15.00
MagicFM

Photo 3: Poster of the exhibition. Charcoal copy of scarabeus (very likely) forged antiquity (Inventory no. 473E)

The purpose here was to start to make the visitor aware of the relativity of the museological discourse, as opposed to the truth making museum. This is especially visible in museums displaying closed collections, made of objects that the museums have not aquired themselves, and where several layers of curatorship/ authorship can be pointed out.

This all-encompassing frame included the story of wonder cabinets and the stories we, as museum, have gathered about how the objects were gathered. It was an image of authenticity and forgery, commodification and enchantement, borrowed fetishism and authorative practice in the heart of (another empire's) colony[5]. It was about travelling and (cultural) mapping. For instance, the human mummy comes from Gamhud digging site and it was excavated in 1907. The story

[5] At that time, Egypt was a colony of British Empire, not the Austro-Hungarian one, whose representative our donor was.

of its arrival to Sibiu was conveyed in a letter to the museum[6] by Nora, the daughter of Hermann von Hannenheim, the donor of the mummy:

> A wealthy person from the Austro-Hungarian colony of that time intended, for his own pleasure, to do some digging for its own pleasure, and for this purpose he had 1,000 pounds to spend. It had not been very easy to get all the necessary rights and approvals, as the Egyptian Government was thoroughly guarding old cultural goods. And my father had the merit of being helpful to that gentleman, doing all the necessary arrangements for him. Thus, he digged and digged, but still nothing, endlessly. When he had only 50 pounds left, one day, a shepherd who was using, for his animal, the yearly short herbs of the desert, told him about a place where, on the rare ocasion of rainfalls, the water would go underground. Ah, there must be a cavity! They hurried there and they digged. They found a funeral chamber with a series of mummies and many other objects, according to burial customs. After the government chose its share, the happy discoverer who, even so, had closed up a good deal, offered to my father, as a token of gratitude for his help, a mummy. Yet things took a grotesque turn. The locals that had received the mission to bring it over kept the authentic one and presented to his house a mummy in a bad conservation state, with an unbearable stink. So of course that the discoverer, to whose attention the fact had been brought, immediately changed it for the one which is in the museum today. Thus, my father was very happy that we could come home and present to his birthplace museum an interesting piece, for which of course he never would have had the means to get. Unfortunately, details regarding the identity or the period of the mummy are unknown to him.[7]

The story helped me unravel the plurivocality involved when it comes to this type of cultural good. On the one hand, there is the Egyptian perspective, on the other hand, the colonial one, then the narrator, Nora, who performs the selection of details and the manner to expose them, and then there is that of the museum who was the destinatary of the letter and who later decided to put it on display.

This example points out that, should one try to define colonialism, far from bein only a system of governance or administration (Bonte and Izard 2007, 157-159), the colonialist or post colonialist ideologies are critically interpreted today simply because they were a powerful tool of cultural hegemony and justification system for economic and politic decisions.

The message to the visitor is that colonialism was a state of mind characteristic to individuals and professional groups who, in the course of their careers, became involved in multiple modes of cultural and political transfer

[6] It was sent in the 1950s to the Museum of Sibiu City, hosting the collections at that moment in time, and is a personal report on a family story. There is no information on whether she has witnessed it or is handing over a piece of family mythology.

[7] Author's translation from Romanian.

between western civilization and the rest of the underdeveloped world. Our donors were owners of either the early collector's voice (Pearce and Arnold, eds. 2016) or imperial voices (Pearce and Flanders, eds. 2016). Both works bring forward the way that collecting practice in colonial contexts was desirable and accepted. But at that moment in time so was the practice of having the so called *ethnographic exhibitions* where families or even larger groups of *primitives* were brought to conduct daily life activities in displays more or less similar to zoological gardens, to the wonder of their audiences.

Yet, all the other donors were mostly interested in *naturalia* than in *artificialia*, which they have also collected as curiosities to be donated as well to the Transylvanian Society of Natural Sciences in Sibiu/Hermannstadt. None the less, after their arrival in Sibiu, the collections started another adventure in the course of a long century of museological paradigmas being overwritten, mostly due to national or local contexts. The history of the objects did not end when entering the museum, it just took a reification turn. Part of this history is, for instance, the wooden case in which the main mummy is still displayed, which is historical piece of furniture in itself, with hand-made glass, and that hosted him/her[8] in the previous wonder cabinet, as well. .

I consider that only after having framed my discourse as above I could turn to constructing the supporting levels of communication on different layers or systems of reference, from basic ones to more complex to read. Either way, each visitor applies his/her own decoding to any of the layers, based on life experience, personal background and heritage literacy, i.e. level of awareness on how and why objects enter museums and are put on display.

Inside this omnipresent frame, one *first layer* of presentation was, of course, that of the inventory of our heritage items. Excluding it from the core of the narrative would be to forget what the purpose of the exhibition and that of the museum are, to start with.

This layer was nontheless the least numerous in items while the main concern here was, on the one hand, providing proper preventive and active conservation conditions, and on the other hand, spatially integrating it in the larger textuality of the exhibitional room. This would also contradict previous perspectives where exhibitions are formed only if a minimum number of exhibitis is made available. Our museum holds in its collection 84 Egyptian cultural goods from different times, while the most valuable and visible exhibit still remains the Mummy with sarcophagus from the Ptolemaic period, more than 2000 years old, belonging to a higher rank official in ancient Egypt. The exhibition included other heritage pieces such as other mummified[9] human body parts, the mummy of an unidentified bird,

[8] Based on recent research, now it is considered to be a male mummy.

[9] Due to very explicit *museum effect*, this could lead to tackle the issue of thing- or personhood. When addressing the issues of exhibiting human remains, one even faces the difficulty of naming them: not an artifact, not an objet, not a (cultural) good.

that of an eagle, a 4000 years old shred, amulets and vessels presented as either authentic or forged antiques (that was also part of the spirit of that time in 19th century Egypt) and other small items part of ritualic inventories.

The next layer is represented by the additional, extra-collections material, meant to stage the experience while delivering the information. (had the exhibition included only this first layer, the curatorship would have been comparable to reading the dictionary instead of reading a novel.)

The second layer is intrinsecally entangled to the objects: texts and images or even replicas meant to connect the visitor to the genealogy and materiality of the displayed objects. It was about delivering information about Egyptian mortuary practice and the objects involved in this intangible side of the material heritage. This was the level of participation, of involvement, of public feedback, the level where lifelong museum-based education takes place, either led by a museum professional or self-conducted, individually or in small groups. This is where participation and engagement adds to the depth of field, complementing the mainly objectual first layer by the mainly contextual second one, in order to connect them to the frame and deliver the core message: whose voice is it, anyway?[10]

IN CONCLUSION

In an effort to become more relevant to their audiences, museums and collections of world cultures worldwide have embraced the trend of "new ethnography" and become increasingly self-reflexive. This is transparent in the way museum professionals turn their attention inwards, questioning the core messages they propose or impose to their public. World cultures museums have become more aware of the conditions of production of their own speech and may be willing to speak up to their public about themselves first, challenge the convention that rules their communication with their audiences in order to increase their own context awareness. This paper tackled a practical attempt of doing so.

Old "ethnographic" collections in our museum were not created by colonialists traveling to their own colonies, but they were surely biased by a colonial legacy and mindset in deciding what to collect, why, and to what purpose.

Colonial relations or mindset (Benoit de l'Estoile 2008) is also at the base of circulation of ideas and worldviews, common theoretical grounding, naming and classifying, copying the model of natural sciences in putting forward the assumption of cultures evolving similary to natural species etc. Thus, the stereotype feature about our collections lacking a colonial history could be challenged not based on their collector's society belonging to one state administration or another, but based on the civilisational factor of adhering to a world view or another, together with the mainstream of all extra-european ethnographic collections of late 19th century and early 20th. The paper showcases a curatorial investigation of why and how wonder cabinets could be

[10] A paraphrase to *Whose cake is it, anyway?* by Bernadette Lynch.

"replayed", not in the rationale of wonder cabinets up to around 70 years ago, when the last one closed in Sibiu, but as a wonder in itself. It would then become The Object of an exhibition.

Photo 4a,b: Night of the museums, 2019. Visitors have to go right through a prop cabinet in order to approach the Mummy with sarcophagus on display

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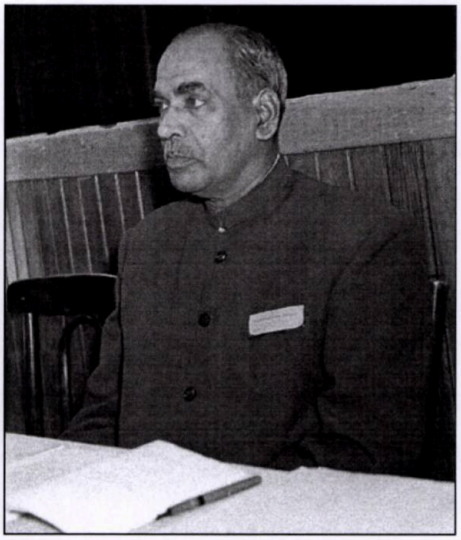
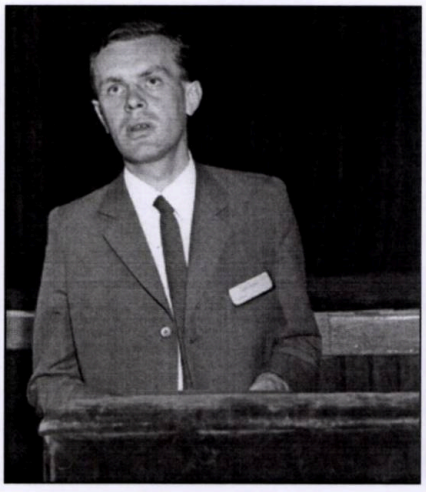


Vera Konstantinovna Sokolova: Moscow (AIEF, FL 1918/1/44447);
Krishna Deva Upadhyaya: Varanasi (FL 1913/32)



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Sen Gupta Sankar: Calcutta, Katharine Mary Briggs: Oxford (FL 1915/19/44524)

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K. Briggs.

ENGLISH TALE-TYPES in SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH LITERATURE

The main lines on which our investigations were laid down for us at this Conference I take to be the evidences to be found in literature prior to the eighteenth century of certain narrative tale-types, with the further rider that we should pay special attention to humerous tales. Following this lead I am concentrating on the comic use of fairy and folktale themes in the literature and drama of the 16th and 17th centuries.

In medieval English we already find tale-types in use, as in Chaucer's Wife of Bath's Tale and Nun's Priest's Tale, in Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight, King Orfeo and King Horn. As a humerous tale one might instance 1525 M, the episode of Mak the Shepherd in the Wakefield Shepherds' Play. In the early 16th Century John Haywood's Play of the Weather is a blending of types 752 B 1830.

My main concern, however, is with Elizabean and Jacobean literature. Serious treatment of folktales is to be found in literature of this period. Instances are the allegorical use of folktale themes in Spenser's Fairie Queen the variant of 310 in Milton's Comus, and, to a lesser extent, in the anonymous play The Wisdome of Dr. Dodypol, which may have contributed something to the conception of Comus. Marlowe's tragic use of the legend of Dr. Faustus is another example. On the whole, however, both fairy tales and tales of the Devil tend to be treated humorously in the literature of this period. This is not surprising with the 'ordinary folktale', which was avowedly fictional and told for entertainment. This was commonly described as 'an Old Wives' Tale' in the England of this period, and was considered proper for the entertainment of children and rustics. Peele's Old Wives' Tale, another possible source of Comus, gives the appropriate

setting. Three benighted travellers take refuge in a cottage and are hospitably entertained. One is invited to share the bed with his host, a cleanly man warranted free of infection, while the old hostess entertains the other two with a story. She is not virtuoso, her tale is full of corrections and throwbacks to forgotten exposition, but apparently she has some power of evocation, for the scene fades out and the story takes shape before the eyes of the listeners. It is a tangled tale, a hotch-potch of types, illustrative of the break-down of the fairy tale in England at that time, but it is valuable to us, for it pre-dates Perrault and Grimm and gives us one of our fullest views of the tales known to native tradition, too often only to be gleaned from stray quotations and references. We learn from it that types 302 (the External Soul), 505 (the Grateful Dead), are all part of our native tradition. In the transformation of the bear there is a motif from Snow-White and Rose-Red. We have also motif Z.65.1. in skin as white as snow and cheeks as red as blood, and a hint of 1791, cracking nuts in the churchyard. The treatment throughout is light, but not without flashes of poetry. The unexplained intrusions of the reapers strike a ritual note.

This tale would seem to show that the tale-telling tradition was already fading in England. There is no trace here of the general esteem in which storytellers are still held among, say the Hungarian Kakasd Community, so ably treated in Linda Degh's book on the subject. There was to be no recrudescence of fashionable interest in England, as there was in France, though fairylore was already becoming a Court fashion. The

fairies were indeed a favourite topic with the poets, and they were almost invariably lightly treated. Formidable and dangerous fairies were long known to folk tradition, but they hardly occur in the literature of this period.

One among other plays founded on humorous folktales is The Taming of the Shrew, both Shakespeare's version and the earlier one. The main plot adheres closely to type 901, and the framework is type 1531. A great number of jocular tales are to be found in both prose and verse literature, but in the limited time at my disposal I should like chiefly to speak of the comic treatment of the Devil in the literature of this period. It is perhaps surprising that this was so common, because the 16th and 17th centuries, the time of the European witch trials, was that in which the concept of the Devil's power reached its most formidable proportions since the days of the Desert Fathers. Theology was becoming the common man's preoccupation, and the powers which Satan could wield a burning question to him. Numbers of plays were written in which devils or demons took part, and yet the treatment of them on the whole was that of the medieval miracle play devil, a folk-character, often horned and hoofed, with some kindlier traits, - rustic and gullible. Some of the plays which might be studied in this context are The Merry Devil of Edmonton, Grim the Collier of Croydon, The Birth of Merlin, Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay, The Devil is an Ass, If it Be Not a Good Play the Devil is In It. This last, by Dekker, sounds more jocular than it is. It has to stand by its title; the Devil is in it, and it is not

a good play. It is more like one of Dekker's tracts, The Belman of London or The Seven Deadly Sinnes, than one of Dekker's plays; there is little trace of the gentle, humorous author of The Shoemaker's Holiday. It ends with a horrible scene in Hell in which Guy Fawkes is tortured.

Three of the plays I have mentioned are about magicians, and another play with a magician in it but with no actual appearance of the Devil is The Wisdome of Dr. Dodypol. Witchcraft plays, in most of which some devils appear, are Middleton's The Witch, The Witch of Edmonton, The Lancashire Witches and Mother Shipton. All these of course treat diablerie more seriously. One witch play in which it is given lighter treatment is Lyly's Mother Bombie. Jonson's The Divell is an Asse is notable for its direct reference to the Miracle Plays in its introduction of the out-dated Vice, Old Iniquity, whose ranting and capering excite the admiration of unsophisticated Pug.

The Prologue of The Merry Devil of Edmonton is based on type 330 A. The Devil, coming to fetch the forfeited soul of Peter Fabell, is induced to sit in a magic chair from which he cannot rise until he has promised Fabell another seven years. There should be an epilogue to the play in which Fabell finally extricates himself, but this is left in the air. There are several variants of this tale-type in England; the best-known of them are "The Tailor of Clitheroe" and "Will the Smith", but this play gives the earliest documented example of it. In spite of its comic plot the Prologue treats the devil with more conviction than any other part of the play, which is otherwise a bustling comedy, helped out with a little light-hearted magic.

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Grim the Collier of Croydon, an anonymous play printed in 1660 but obviously written much earlier, presents several points of interest. The beginning is closely founded on Machiavelli's novella Belfagor, but the author makes the plot more consistent, and avoids Machiavelli's change of front in the middle. It will be remembered that in Machiavelli's tale the charge laid upon the reconnoitring devil is that he should lay aside all diabolic powers and be liable to human disabilities. This he faithfully does, behaving like a man of feeling and virtue, until he is forced to flee from his creditors and is hidden by a compassionate peasant. The plot then shifts to type 1164 D, II and III. To reward his benefactor he assumes diabolic powers again, and with them a diabolic nature. Twice he enters into a woman and allows himself to be exorcised by the peasant, but when he thinks the peasant has been adequately paid for his service he warns him that in any further intercourse between them he will be his enemy. After this he maliciously possesses the King of Naples' daughter, and the peasant, forced to attempt a vain exorcism, is about to be beheaded for his failure, but by a sudden strategem he convinces the devil that his wife has arrived to claim him back again, at which the devil in terror comes out of the Princess, and escapes to Hell to make his report prematurely. This second half of the plot has some resemblance to the Lincolnshire folktale "Yallery Brown", in which a man who has freed a captive spirit, at first grateful, becomes in the end its victim. It is also reminiscent of the English Folksong, "There was an old farmer who lived near Hell" (Type 1164) in which the curst wife makes Hell so much too hot for the devils that she is carried home again.

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In The Collier of Croydon Belphagor does not begin by shedding all his powers, for he cures a dumb maiden on condition that he may marry her. On being cured she bursts into such a flood of invective that her friends would rather have her speechless again, but this is beyond even the Devil's art. Belphagor, like many another devil after him, is cheated, for he is fobbed off with another bride. The dumb lady is also cheated, and married by her father's trickery to an old knight instead of to the young lover whom she desired. However, her flood of words abates, and she proves in the end a dutiful wife to her elderly husband, while the gentle-seeming girl with whom Belphagor was mated turns out to be a termagant and a wanton, so that Belphagor is despatched back to Hell, poisoned and horned. In sympathy with his sufferings all the devils in Hell undertake to wear horns ever after.

The subplot, from which the play takes its title, is of even greater interest to folklorists, for it is less literary in origin. Belphagor's attendant devil, Robin Goodfellow, driven away by his shrewish mistress, becomes a kind of wandering Brownie, and finally interests himself in an honest collier's love affair, rescuing his truelove from the attempted abduction of a rascally friar. There are many folk belief references, such as the Hallowmas nutting time, when there is said to be a danger of encountering the Devil. The whole of this sub-plot has the air of being a folk play on the lines of the Cornish drolls. Grim the Collier seems to have been a traditional comic character. He appears as a dupe in the early play of Damon and Pythius, where his story is rather left in the air. I think that this airy way of touching on folktale themes without following them up is a sign that they were already well-known to their audience.

Friar Bacon and Frier Bacon follows the chapbook tale closely, and here,

though some of the treatment is relatively serious, the magician's tricks and the folly of his man Miles weigh the scale to comedy. The German conjuror Vandermeer is indeed torn to pieces by his devils, but this is felt to be a good thing, and the repentance and final salvation of Frier Bacon save the play from a tragic ending.

In The Birth of Merlin the theme of the incubus is given almost farcical treatment, and the Devil is finally overcome by his mortal child, and enclosed in rock, thus foreshadowing the fate that was to befall Merlin, himself. Mother Shipton is a late treatment of something the same theme, for its heroine is Ursula Shipton, the mother of the prophetess, who like Merlin is the child of an incubus and a seduced virgin. Popular sympathy was with her as it was with Merlin, though she was a much more home-spun character, and hideous as well.

I have touched very briefly on the comic treatment of these horrific themes, and I should like, even more briefly, to suggest why they were treated with such levity at a time when the Devil's power assumed such terrifying dimensions. Perhaps you have noticed that children in their imaginary games make their villains comic as well as evil. I am sure they do this in order to reassure themselves. They feel that the best weapon against villainy is laughter. In the same way the people of the Renaissance world, especially those who were poor and powerless, gained some reassurance against the dark forces that surrounded them by conjuring up these grotesque and gullible devils.

V. K. Sokolova

La formation et les premiers types des légendes historiques.

Dans l'étude de l'histoire de n'importe quel genre de folklore, il est important d'examiner, sur la base de quelle tradition il a pris naissance et quelles étaient ses premières formes. Dans ce court exposé je tâche de faire voir quelques particularités des premières légendes historiques russes.

La naissance des légendes qu'on peut qualifier comme proprement historiques est liée avec la consolidation de la structure de l'Etat et le développement de la conscience nationale. Pour les Russes c'était la Russie de Kiev du temps des premiers princes. C'est aussi à cette époque qu'on commence à écrire des annales et que la poésie épique prend une vive couleur historique. Les légendes correspondaient au même besoin de se rendre compte de son passé et du present et se distinguent aussi par leur tendence historique bien prononcée.

Les sources des légendes remontent aux temps fort anciens, puisque les récits des temps passés représentent évidemment un des premiers genres de l'art oral. Les prédécesseurs directs des légendes historiques, avec lesquels elles etaient génétiquement liées, étaient des récits poétiques de race et de tribu. Dans ces récits les mythes des ancêtres divins et totems, des héros de culture et d'autres se trouvaient reunis avec des souvenirs de quelques moments de l'histoire de la race et de la tribu. Le but essentiel des récits de race et de tribu, comme celui des

légendes historiques des temps plus avancés, est d'assurer et de conserver pour la postérite la mémoire des événements les plus importants dans la vie de la race et de la tribu et ils étaient conçus également comme des récits véridiques.

Mais avec la coïncidence du but et de la fonction communs les légendes historiques diffèrent en principe des récits de race et de tribu par la conception de la réalité et la manière de la représenter. Ce n'est pas le mythe qui les intéresse, mais l'histoire concrète qui, en règle générale, est rendue avec plus de réalisme.

Dans la vie courante les premières légendes historiques chez les Russes, comme chez la plupart des peuples européens, sont presque inconnues; peu de ces légendes sont parvenues jusqu'au XIX siècle et, certes, bien changées et le sens autrement conçu. Quelque représentation nous en donnent les anciens motifs introduits dans les légendes postérieures, de même que les légendes des peuples qui étaient aux stades du développement moins avancés. La source principale qui donne la représentation des sujets, motifs et images des premières légendes ce sont les œuvres de la littérature du moyen-âge - annales, chroniques, récits historiques. Les premiers historiens russes - les annalistes ont profité assez largement des légendes qui étaient alors d'usage courant et ils les ont fixées justement aux périodes où quand les anciennes légendes de race et de tribu, ayant souvent la portée de culte, étaient remplacées maintes fois par des légendes d'un caractère politique et social, avec l'orientation bien prononcée vers l'historicité. Il n'y s'agissait plus de la race, ni de la tribu, mais du peuple et

de l'État et leurs premiers héros - les miraculeux ancêtres d'autrefois, des héros de culture et d'autres, ils étaient remplacés par des personnages historiques réels. Certes, ce n'est qu'une petite partie de légendes qu'on retrouve sur les pages des annales, conformément revues, pourtant sur leur base on peut se fonder une certaine representation des premiers types des légendes historiques.

Le genre des problèmes, les sujets et les images des premières légendes historiques (de même qu'à l'époque postérieure) étaient détermines par leur actualité et les problèmes qu'elle avançait. On a toutes les raisons à supposer que chez les Russes, comme chez la plupart des peuples, une place importante était réservée aux légendes ethnogénétiques, au sujet des souches et plus tard au sujet des fondateurs des dynasties princières et des légendes toponimiques. Ce qui caractérise la période de la formation des légendes historiques c'est qu'on y utilise, en état transforme, les sujets et les images des récits antécédents (par exemple, au sujet des vainqueurs des dragons) qui sont rendus historiques et localisés d'une manière précise. Mais la place principale commence à être réservée pour des légendes apparues comme des légendes historiques sur la base des faits réels. C'étaient avant tout des légendes sur les épisodes de la lutte avec les ennemis du dehors et la consolidation des Etats, la construction des villes et des villages etc. Celles qui représentaient et généralisaient les circonstances et les situations les plus typiques et revelaient les traits essentiels des images des héros populaires étaient utilisées ensuite dans d'autres légendes; on créait une sorte de „lieux communs", "de

cliche", notous que quelques uns étaient conservés bien longtemps

Sur la base du materiel qu'on possede on peut indiquer des groupes suivants des premières légendes russes.

I. Légendes, apparues comme transformation des anciens motifs et des images mythologiques:

1) au sujet des hommes d'autrefois - des géants. On rapporte à une époque historique - la légende des annales de la victoire sur les géants - des obres qui opprimaient la tribu des doulebes;

2) au sujet des tribus anciennes, disparues après l'arrivée des Russes (sur les "tchoudes" qui se sont enterrés eux-mêmes etc.);

3) au sujet de la victoire sur un dragon monstreux (le labourage a un dragon vaincu etc.). Le sujet des vainqueurs de dragons passe dans le conte (Kogémiaka - vainqueur d'un dragon, Aa-Th 300) de même que dans la légende historique sur un combat héroique d'un jeune homme russe Kogémiaka aved un géant-petchenègue.

II. Les légendes sur les origines des tribus slaves de l'Est et de l'Etat Russe.

1) Les legendes ethnographiques remontent vers les récits de race et de tribu (par exemple, au sujet des frères Tcheque, Leque et Rousse; des frères Radime et Viatka, qui ont fondé les tribus des radimitchis et des viatitchis et d'autres);

2) au sujet des premiers princes (Kille, Askold et Dir, l'invitation des princes, la princesse Olga et d'autres);

3) sur la construction et la consolidation des villes;

a) le premier type - la construction et le nom de Kév; b) le type caractéristique pour le temps de la création de l'ancien Etat Russe - de la fondation par Vladimir I de Pereiaslavl en honneur de la victoire sur les petchenègues.

III. Les légendes au sujet de la défense du pays natal.

1) Les légendes sur les exploits et les combats des preux qui conservent quelques liens avec des récits épiques (au sujet de Kogemiaka, plus tard d'Evpatii Kolovrat et d'autres);

2) sur la défense des villes, les stratagèmes militaires etc. (le kissel de Belgorod et d'autres);

3) sur les gens non soumis à l'ennemi (une femme se précipite d'un mur (un rocher) pour ne pas devenir la proie de l'ennemi etc.);

IV. Les légendes toponimiques liées aux événements et aux personnages historiques.

Certes, les sujets, les motifs et les images indiqués ne peuvent pas épuiser toute la richesse et la variété des premières légendes historiques, mais ils caractérisent leurs types principaux.

Ce ne sont pas toutes les légendes qui entrent totalement dans l'un ou l'autre groupe. Les légendes ethnogénétiques et toponimiques étaient souvent entremêlées, s'unissaient avec des légendes héroiques. Mais leur sort était différent. Les légendes ethnogénétiques, ethnonimiques et généalogiques caractérisent la première période; plus tard elles n'étaient plus crées et on les oubliait. Tandis que les légendes toponimiques avaient une diffusion extrêmement large et étaient liées avec des événements de différentes époques d'une importance d'Etat et d'intérêt local, tout en conservant les mêmes principes de

la construction. Souvent, ce n'étaient pas de récits indépendants, mais une explication des noms locaux qu'on donnait comme conclusion dans les légendes de differents types (je dois faire mes réserves que les légendes liées aux événements et aux personnages historiques ne font qu'une partie des légendes toponimiques). Celles qui avaient le plus de perspective dans le plan du developpement ultérieur c'étaient les légendes héroïques - patriotiques.

La naissance et le développement des légendes d'un caractère réaliste sur une base historique bien prononcée témoignaient chez le peuple des changements essentiels de la conception du monde et des points de vue sur le procédé historique. Ce qui était par principe important dans le plan social et de la conception du monde c'est qu'on avait remplacé le héros surhumain par des gens ordinaires, (bien que quelques capacités et des forces physiques qui surpassent les naturelles sont conservées chez un nombre de héros pastérieurs des légendes). Pendant la première étape du développement des légendes historiques leur héros était souvent un homme qui occupait une haute position sociale; l'image du prince a cette periode incarnait encore les traits d'un gérent et chef militaire juste; ce n'est que plus tard que les contradictions et les conflits sociaux devinrent la base des sujets des légendes. Mais dans un certain nombre de premières légendes apparaissent déjà les images héroïques des gens simples qui avaient une grande importance sociale et educative.

Comme on peut le juger d'après les modèles des légendes, pénetrées dans les documents écrits, beaucoup de traits prin-

étaels qui sont devenus des indices principaux du genre leur étaient propres depuis le commencement même. Les légendes n'élaboraient pas de formes stables de la narration (avec des debuts, fins et methodes du développement précis etc.), la forme de la narration était libre. Cela pouvait être une courte information sur un événement aussi bien qu'un récit compliqué et plus ou moins développé. Ce n'était pas la manière d'informer, mais ce qu'on communiquait; c'était quelque chose de très important qui présentait souvent un grand intérêt. Aussi fallait il confirmer l'authenticité du récit. On se servait des références sur la renommée universelle des légendes, sur les vieux gens, leurs conservateurs (tout le monde le dit, "comme on le dit," ~~[illegible]~~"), sur les noms des lieux, des villages et des villes, qui soi-disant conservaient la mémoire de ce qui y était arrivé autrefois; sur des objets appartenus, comme on l'affirmait, aux héros de la narration, sur les "traces" qu'ils avaient laissees etc. C'etait la cause de la localisation précise de beancoup de légendes. L'orientation vers l'authenticité et le concret faisait transporter des sujets et des motifs qui convenaient dans des localités connues par tout le monde. L'authenticité de la légende était aussi confirmée par un proverbe ("une parabole") apparue, comme on le pensait, par rapport à l'événement décrit et qui l'assurait ainsi dans la mémoire de ses descendants. Les légendes conservent et développent pendant des siècles tous ces traits qui les caractérisent.

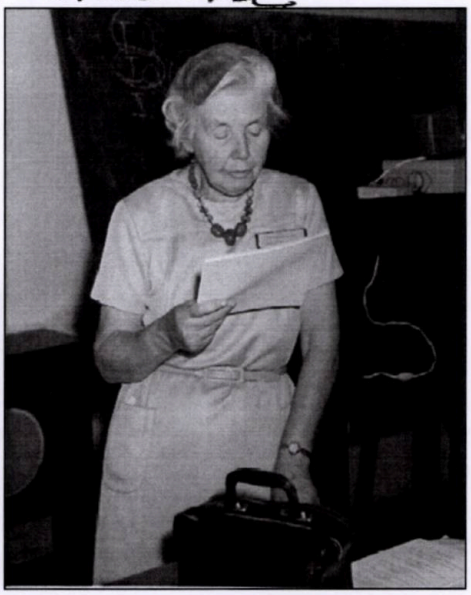
Du côté génétique, comme nous l'avons dit, les légendes sont liées avec les narrations mythologiques et les récits de race et de tribu et profitent le premier temps à un certain degré du choix de leurs sujets et du caractère imagé. Les lé-

gendes sont encore en liaison reciproque avec d'autres genres de la poésie orale: avec la poésie épique héroique (les legendes sur la lutte avec l'eunemi du de-hors) avec les contes, la poesie de cérémonie et d'autres, mais les éléments des autres genres sont soumis à leur orientation essentielle vers la methode historique; quelquefois elles servent à caractériser les conditions de vie etc.

Dans les légendes crées sur la base des faits concrets la vie ambiante est représentée, en principe, d'une manière réelle. Mais fréquemment, on introduisait dans les récits les élements du merverlleux, du surnaturel; on parlait des phénomenes extraordinaires, des prédictions qui s'étaient accomplies etc. et on se rendait compte des événements comme d'une manifestation de la volonté des forces divines ce qui est naturel pour la conception du monde du moyen-âge. Dans les légendes le fantastique est de deux plans: ou bien il remonte aux croyances et aux représentations anciennes (et quelquefois il se rapproche du fantastique des contes), ou bien aux legendes chretiennes. Dans les premières légendes il existe deux éléments - l'un païen et l'autre chrétien; des mages et des magiciens y figurent (la prophétie du magicien au prince Oleg et d'autres), mais les élements chrétiens sont de plus en plus substitués aux élements païens et dans les légendes on raconte déjà des phénomènes produits par des icônes, du salut merveilleux d'une villassiégée (d'un cloître) par un saint, par la vierge sainte, de l'aveuglement des ennemés qui tiraient dans une icône etc. Ainsi, c'est dans la première période déjà qu'

on forme deux types principaux des légendes historiques: des legendes proprement historiques et des légendes d'un caractère réligieux.

Comme on peut le voir, les premières légendes historiques russes, d'après leur but, le genre des problèmes et les types principaux coïncident sous beaucoup de rapports avec les légendes des autres peuples qui se sont formés dans des conditions analogues. C'est pourquoi l'étude de leurs premiers types (ce qui est traité dans cet ~~exposé~~ communication, par nécessité, d'une manière très abregée et sommaire) peut contribuer à établir leur typologie commune.



V.K. Sokolova, Erna Vasil'evna Pomerantzeva: Moscow, ?, ? (FL 1918/2/44446); K.M. Briggs (FL 1916/23/44438)

World-wide

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Reduction Possibilities of Recent Folk Tale Research

0. In folk-tale research, as well as in other fields of folklore, reduction is a logical-methodological procedure, by means of which available empirical facts and certain phenomena are used to determine retrospectively the regularities calling these phenomena into existence.

0.1. In a concrete sense, this means that, by analyzing the actually collected tales, we try to reconstruct the whole biography of the folk-tale in general and of narrative tradition.

0.2. This task is very important and, in view of its prospects, it is very likely to be the most important of the researches on the tale, although it is not the only one. Tale research may, and actually does, follow many other conceptions as well.

0.3. In the present case, however, we are going to present a systematical regrouping of existing, in fact, well known research results into this single trend, accepting the impeachment of one-sidedness.

1. The main aims of such reduction:

1.0.1. Development of the tale, as independent epic literary form,

1.0.2. history of the tale as such independent literary form, relying upon data from the whole world.

1.1 The tale, as the subject of such reduction, is not identical with the mathematic totality of texts, variants, motives, types and repertories.

1.1.1. Both in its formation and biography, the tale is inseparable from the narrative tradition, from the institution of the communities conserving the tale as a tradition, from the entire history of these communities and from the life of societies familiar with the tale.

2.0. Representatives of many research trends have promised a comprehensive review of the formation of the folk narrative text tradition itself.

2.0.1. To-day, most of the constatationsof the following tendencies are already of epistemological importance: the traditional Indo-Germanic, nationalist school, observing the content aspects, the mythological, the evolutionists, the associative psychologist and the so called Finnish school.

2.0.2. Very similar to these aims, most of the recent tendencies /neo-ethnic conception of Sydow and followers, the neo-monographic school of Bloomington, neo-mythological conceptions relying upon the history of religion and the research of epic poetry, etc./ are not yet stabilised and their conceptions are much debated.

2.0.3. The number of researches of formal and structural aspect is not high enough, results of the best individual researches /Propp, Lévi-Strauss, Jacobs, Dundes, etc./ have not been properly used by synopses /Utley, Dorson, Kingas - Maranda, (etc./.

2.1. The works investigating the origin of different tales fail to give a comprehensive description of development and establish merely a certain concordance - not always - between the different traditions. /Series edited for this very purpose fail to do so (series of von der Leyen, Röth-Verlag, Steinitz-Ortutay, Dorson, Delarue, series aimed at the German language area)/.

2.2. The researches concerning the development of Germanic, Celtic, and Russian tales are the most significant among the investigations on the tales of the different ethnic groups /de Vries, Christiansen, Rooth, Propp, Pomeranceva/, with a special regard to the relations between tales and myths.

2.3. For want of a large-scale, conscious and universal history of genesis of tales we must confine ourselves to the genetic regularities of the tales of the three ethnic groups mentioned above /North-western Germanic, insular Celtic, Eastern Slavic/ and time to construct a general description of development.

2.4. From this point of view it is most important that Soviet authors, relying upon a most extensive material, have methodized the differentiation of epic literary forms /Zirmunskij, Meletinskij/.

2.4.1. However, they have collated it only with the initial tales of primitive peoples and with late tales of some Central Asian peoples, and not with all the attainments of tale research.

3.0. Recently the first steps have been made to compile the historic description of development of narration.

3.1.1. Aimed at sociology, the school of personality research has disclosed the practice of numerous European narrating communities /fishermen, peasants, artisans, soldiers/.

3.1.2. The narrating and myth-telling practice of numerous primitive peoples has been disclosed by the functionalistic schools of England, the ethnological schools of the US and the ethnological researches of the Soviet Union.

3.1.3. In a lucky case, plenty of data are available, indicative of such earlier narration, which permit us to reconstruct the past of the narration of a people. /In this respect, Russian and Hungarian data are most remarkable./

3.2. The first steps have been made towards social-historical examination of narration /forgotten works of Zelenin, examinations of Frobenius and his followers, to be used most critically, studies of Ortutay and his adepts remaining within national scopes, and those of Vidalepp, opening wider prospects./

4. We can try now to project the reduction research possibilities into a single image, even though this synopsis represents in

many fields the consideration of gaps only, and contains but the most common categories.

5. In a wider sense, the reduction image of the development of fictitious literary forms may be this : completely undifferentiated story, without literary genre - essential and formal differentiation of initial epic stories resulting in various epic literary forms, including the tale - reciprocal effects between the various epic literary forms and the tale - differentiation within the literary form of the tale, minor fictitious categories - cessation of the tale as literary form.

5.1. Practically nothing has been elucidated of this complex so far.

5.1.1. The following questions have been worked out in a comparatively complete way: the period between the undifferentiated story and the tale as literary form /Erlebnissage, Memorat, Märlein and older categories/;

5.1.2. heroic epic acts considerably on developed fictitious literary forms, an independent epic category comes into being - the so-called heroic saga - which is later than the heroic epic and the tale. It is secondary;

5.1.3. in the course of its cessation, the tale switches over to literature /this process has actually started a very long time ago/, and is replaced within the folklore by anecdotes, funny stories and jokes.

5.1.3.1. Those literary forms, which have subsequently become most significant, were existing during the golden age of the tale too, but did not become predominant until the narrating communities were dissolved.

5.1.3.2. In narrating technique and motives, the literary forms have borrowed a great deal from the tale, in fact often directly.

5.2. It is suggested by researches /Grimm, Thompson, Anderson, Zirmm Antakova, Ranke, Baumgner/ that these periods coincide with the turning-points ~~in the~~ (that is the changing of the ways of) life of narrating societies.

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5.3. Within each period /and also within the different fictitious literary forms/, the influence of literature on tale tradition is different; it is the strongest on the field of parables, animal tales, exempla, anecdotes and, from the 19th century on, of nursery tales, where the literary forms on the verge of literature and folklore become popular /Röhrich, Ehrlich, Bolte, Lundmann, etc./.

6. Such reduction image of narration : birth of narration /it is often created by culture-heroes/ - initial syncretistic function /narration to supernatural beings/ - initial differentiation of narration /hunting and fishing stories, mostly within the scope of the capturing way of life/ - combination of narration with production /narration to domestic animals, or in the breaks of agricultural work/ - the tale conserving earlier traditions of other communities /occasional traces of the ritual-personal style of the heroic-saga/ - displacement of the tale into secondary, out-of-the-village communities the tale as mere entertainment of adults /narration for money, narration to the laughter etc./ - the tale in the nursery.

6.1. Territorial comparative examination of narration has not yet been commenced.

6.1.1. Nevertheless, an Eastern European, an Eastern Slavic, a Near Eastern, a Far Eastern /Japanese, Chinese/, an Indian and perhaps a Western European narrating tradition can be distinguished.

6.1.1.1. In its actual form, the Eastern European tradition dates from the late feudalism, the Russian one from the early and the late feudalism, while the Southern Slavic epic traditions is characteristic of the transitions period between clan organization and feudalism /Dégh, Posnanceva, Lord, etc./.

6.1.1.2. Social analogies to mediaeval Central and Western European narration can be found mostly among Turkish peoples of Central Asia and Asia Minor /Zirmunskij, Eberhard/.

7. The different literary forms of tale have this historic reduction image:

7.0. The categories established for catalogues are completely unfit for such examinations; the groups of literary forms and the literary forms are different within the tale.

7.0.0. However, in certain cases we must use them temporarily.

7.1. Within the group of magic tales: allegorical natural myths, struggles of heroes against the forces threatening the clan /often personified natural forces/, the struggles of the hero change into adventures and get into everyday environment, interesting adventures of strong heroes. /E.g. AaTh 300, 301 and its relations, later versions of 326./

7.1.1. The historically changing heroic saga adapts itself to this chain of development.

7.2. Within the literary genre that might be termed mythological tale, myths concerning the deeds of culture-heroes and the origin of the world, tales relying upon the epic of developing religions /AaTh 471 indicating pre-Christian conceptions, AaTh 768 about the Christian tradition, etc./, very often under the immediate influence of religious broadside literature /e.g. AaTh 785 and 933, etc./.

7.3. Uniting compositionally fully equivalent adventures, the group of adventure-tales includes tales founded on mythically interpret miraculous transformations, with supernatural figures /e.g. AaTh 400 and its numerous relations/, tales bearing upon the literary tradition of the late antiquity, the early Middle Age and the Renaissance /AaTh 566/, narration of biographical epic stories taking place in our days/ stories of soldiers, itineraries, wars, captivities and, recently, the contents of a read book/.

7.3.1. The narration of itineraries, biographies and adventures is itself subject to historic changes and belongs only temporarily and

partly to the literary form of the tales /this is when true stories take up literary properties of the tale/.

7.3.1.1. This process shows particularly well, what social changes /in the present case, in the traditions of two different communities/ are likely to call new literary forms into existence.

7.4. The group of novella-tales contains mostly love stories; they include conflicts between the clan and the family, often with supernatural figures /AaTh 315 and its relations/, fictitious versions of these stories /AaTh 425, etc./, stories about the faithful, wise and virtuous or quick-witted, cunning and false women of the Middle Age and, finally, sentimental and often broadside stories about innocently accused wives.

7.5. Animal tales have a large number of elements, constituting separate groups almost by themselves; they include animal myths, early philosophising animal stories /where the picture outlined of human society is not only allegorical, but ex ipso primitive/ the mediaeval animal novels of concrete social significance and the didactic animal fables fashionable in schools.

7.5.1. We do not ascribe to geographical reasons neither these differences nor the cases of animalism - transforming non-animal stories into animal stories - /as did Kolmačevskij, Krohn and others/, but consider them as stages of historic development.

7.6. With more or less regularity, outlines of a similar development can be guessed in the case of the other forms of tales too.

7.6.1. Their periods are, however, different from those mentioned above.

7.6.1.1. The humorous stories /jests, anecdotes, jokes, the "Witz" might be grouped according to the changing of the derided phenomena /e.g. alternation, golden age and decline of woman-jeering and anti-clerical jokes, Schildbürgerschwänke, political jokes, etc./

7.6.1.2. In the case of many forms of the tale which have not been examined much so far /formula-tales, tales of lying, cumulative tales, etc./, the historic changes will have to be determined probably by means of formal changes.

8. Formal-aesthetical analysis of the tale presents a similar pattern of historic evolution.

8.0.1. Very few comprehensive and coherent researches have been made on this field as yet.

8.1. The category of epic regularities /Epische Gesetze/ is too broad and was initially applied not only to the tale /Moe, Aarne, Olri Krohn, Anderson, etc./.

8.2. The epical-historical analyses of certain epical Grundforms are too theoretical; instead of the international stock of tales, they are founded on preliminary hypotheses.

8.3. The observation of certain literary-stylistic regularities in tales have taken place so far only in a circumscribed material /in the Grimm tales, which are of individual origin and not folkloristic in every respect/.

8.3.1. Nevertheless, they permit a very large number of valuable observations to be made in examining genuine folk-tales.

8.4. In certain typological investigations /in the category system of Wesselski, Sydow and others/ it is not the entire systematization, but only some of its elements which contain stylistic features.

8.5. Certain Volkskunde-characteristic epic form examinations /Rikard Leopold Schmidt/ describe the formal properties of the different groups of tales only in regard to the period preceding the development of fictitious reflection of reality.

8.6. Many of the pertinent researches seem to be merely vast preliminary studies of major works expected to be written by the authors in the future /Gusev, Lüthi, Ortutay, Propp, Ranke, Pop etc./.

8.6.1. Similar synopses of certain related sciences are also expected /according to the conceptions of Burke, Cassirer, Jaspers, Wundt and others/.

9. On the ground of all this /cf. 5.-8./ the history of the tale could be summed up on a worldwide scale.

10. This work is possible and can be commenced, but it cannot be accomplished by a single person, nor a single institute, nor even the research workers of a single country.

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Acknowledgment

Since my task was better to summarise the possibilities of "reductive" folktale research than to describe all of its mentioned problems in details, for further literature hereby I only have to refer to the well known handbooks of by Professors Stith Thompson /The Folktale/ and Max Lüthi /Märchen/. Anyhow I have been able to quote some more works too and to present my descriptions in a more extended form within a chapter "Folktale" of our university textbook : Dömötör Tekla - Katona Imre, etc. ed.: A magyar népköltészet /Hungarian Folk Literature/. 2nd ed. Budapest, 1969.

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"Indian Folk-Narratives and the Hindu Family Structure."

Introduction:

The Hindu family structure depicted in Indian folk-narratives is patriarchal, patrilocal, and patrilineal. It is a semi-joint family. There are not as many members in the family as Indian traditional literature suggests. Families of the tales are small in size and membership. It is composed of "co-parceners"---persons who have a right to the products of the family property. Hardly is there any indication that persons of more than two generations lived in the same household. Grandparents are never mentioned. Usually the ego, his one or more than one wife and their off-springs are the main actors in the folk-narratives of India.

Head of the Indian household is the oldest male. Traditionally he has the absolute power; however he shares his responsibilities with his wife and sons.

Hindu family performs three significant functions: (1) social, (2) economical, and (3) ritualistic. Tales emphasize social and economical roles only. Religious and ritualistic functions of a family is almost neglected. Reasons maybe the nature of material the folk-narratives depcit.

The following consanguineous and affinal relatives are mentioned in the Indian folk-narratives. (1) The blood relatives are: father, son, mother, daughter, stepmother, stepson, stepdaughter, brother, sister, uncle, nephew and niece. (2) And the relatives by marriage are: wife, husband, father-in-law, son-in-law, mother-in-law, daughter-in-law, elder brother's wife,

husband's sister, and husband's younger brother. A score of distant relatives have not found their way in the repertoire of the Indian folk-tales. Those mentioned above are the most important ones in Hindu family organization. There is a pattern of interaction among the members of the family. These are ten among consanguineous relatives such as: (1) Fa-So, (2) Fa-Da, (3) Mo-So, (4) Mo-Da, (5) Stepmother-Step-son, (6) Step-mother---Step-daughter, (7) Brother-Brother, (8) Sister-Sister, (9) Brother-Sister, (10) Uncle-Nephew and Niece. And five among the affinals: (1) Wi-Hu, (2) Mother-in-law---Daughter-in-law, (3) Parents-in-law---Son-in-law, (4) Brother's wife-Husband's younger Brother, (5) Brother's wife---Husband's Sister.

A Partial Discussion of the Patterns of Familial Interaction Among the Consanguineous Relatives

A girl is subsevient to her father and is in no way a threat to his position and power. To the daughter her father is a protector, preserver, and he is the one who gives her away in marriage. Traditions require her to obey the father; in case of disobedience, she is likely to be cast away from the family.

The greatest responsibility of a man towards his daughter is to get her married in a prosperous and good home. For this he makes tireless effords. In one of the tales a man does not permit his daughter to marry a young man because he is poor. In dowry or in other forms of gifts a father may give as much as "half of his kingdom" (property) to his daughter.

There is much cordiality between these two relatives. A father wel-

comes his daughter heartily if she happens to visit her parental home and the girl might offer considerable help to her parents in their dark days. However the bond of affection may decrease under certain circumstances. A father may not love her as much if, the daughter is disliked by the step-mother. Tales inform us that men throw their newly born daughters in a flowing river or chop off their tiny heads if they are predicted to bring catastrophy upon the entire family.

A son plays a significant role in the socio-spiritual life of his father. Indian folk-narratives depcit such kings who weep bitterly to obtain a son. Men worship gods and goddesses to procure a male-child. A king even accepts a fish-son. (But a man consults his son before making any major decisions specially if he is the oldest one.)

A son is spiritual and physical rescuer of his father: A man cannot go to heaven without a male-progeny. According to the tale "The Prince Dolan and his devoted Wife," the prince sets out to rescue his father from a lioness. Son provides shelter for the man in his old age. Also there is much bitterness found between these two relatives. After bringing a second wife a man loses considerable interest in the off-springs with his first wife. He may even punish and exile them at the instance of their step-mother. A son under special circumstances may disrespect and disobey his father. But such cases are mentioned as rarity.

Need for a male baby has even been greatest in the life of and Indian woman. There is depication in a folk-narrative of a woman who even listens

to the advice of a faithful bitch and accordingly makes a flour-baby, weeps before Lord Shiva and his consort, Parvati so that they might feel pity on her and turn the flour-baby into a human child. Indian folk-songs mention of such women who carve out wooden-babies, in absence of a human child, in expection that gods might pity them and give them a son.

Mother-son relationship is extremely affectionate and intimate. A woman loves her son only second to her husband. A son is her social redeemer and a priced possession. The tales depict this theme in one way or the other. Such a tie is not available only among human beings but animals also. Mothers are over protective and over concerned regarding their children. Even a revengeful lioness promises to devour the son of a king who has accidently killed her cub.

To a daughter, the mother is her closest associate. The mother dominates over the life of the daughter at least, as long as the girl is not married. A girl must seek her mother's permission if she wants either to visit with the instructor or her husband. And she is expected to obey it. The mother is the one in the entire family who listens to her daughter's problems with great attention and concern. In "The Unlucky Princess and her Doll" a woman is pictured leaving her family with the youngest daughter, who is pronounced unlucky by her instructor. And undergoes the troubles of exilement. However in certain circumstances she might disassociate herself from the daughter's illiecite doings.

According to a popular saying from Northern India: "There is no friend like a brother, There is no enemy like a brother." This manifests patterns

of interactions between the brothers. The tales studied here reveal a sense of fondness and cordiality among brothers at least when they are growing up together. A man before departing from his home gives a ring and handerchief to his wife and writes the following message on a stick addressed to his younger brother: "Oh my younger brother, always take care of your sister-in-law (my wife)." This certainly characterizes the closesness and trust between the brothers.

There is much emotional attachment among the sisters. There is little jealously found in this relationship because as they get older, they are married off to different places. Step-sisters are also depicted in the tales however their is no explicit direct interaction, mentioned among them.

The nature and character of the brother-sister relation in the folk-narratives is not the same as in Indian folksongs. Folksongs idealize the behavorial patterns of these two relatives. Whereas folktales take a more realistic look at this bond. Tradition tabus marital relations between a mand and his sister and any kind of discussion on cupid and sex. But in the tales these thing are not tabooed. A brother wants to marry his sister, which she distastes, no doubt. Deciet and treachery also dominates this relationship. The cruel act of a girl has culminated in the tale "The Kind Brother and the Unkind Sister" wherein she kills her brother, who has renounced his father's kingdom to save her life, at the instance of her lover, who happens to be a lion. During troubles and troubleations a man seeks his sister's economical and moral support. However in majority of cases a sister refuses to recognize and help her pauper brother.

Traditionally an uncle is regarded as a father by his nephew and niece. The same fact is emphasized in the tales also. Birzabhan, a folk-hero, is asked by his uncle to marry a beautiful girl, Kanasorthi. After the wedding is over the nephew is welcomed back home by his father's brother.

Social norms require a young man to treat his step-mother with respect and in turn he should be treated like her own son. But this is rarely found in the folk-narratives. The nature of relationships between these two members of the household is dominated by hate, jealousy, sex and obedience. Usually a step-mother is depicted as an young cruel woman who invariably wants either to seduce or to destroy her step-son. Whereas the son is pictured as a kind hearted young man who is always obedient and respectful to his father's second wife. Also in folk-narratives a woman always hates the step-daughter and likes to see her humiliated. A girl is married to a monkey because that is what her step-mother wants.

Summary:

Depiction of Indian family structure in the folk-narratives is a patriarchal, patrilocal and patrilianal. An oldest male is an authoritarian figure and he dominates the familial affairs. Indian Tales mention socio-economical role of the household. Only important members of the family are pictured. Usual number of children in a family is seven sons and one daughter or seven daughters only. The sons and daughter are pictured grown and matured and not as babies as we usually find in the folksongs. In the folk-narratives father-son relationship is well releated and often mentioned; but it is not so in the folksongs. Father-daughter interaction is less stressed

in the tales than in the folksongs. Mother-son relationship also has a different overtone in the tales. A woman does not desire for s son as much as we find in the folksongs. Interaction between these two relatives is on adult to adult basis. Neither the mother is mentioned as a young bride nor the son as a baby. There are numerous Indian folk-tales which depict a great deal of emotional attachment, between the parents and their children. However there are instances of a man marrying his daughter to a monkey and tales about sons being exiled and banished by their father. There is much jealousy between co-wives, step-mother and step-children. In tales, as in songs, step-mothers are pictured as deceitful women who try to destroy their step-children in one way or other. In songs relationships between brother and sis-is entirely pure and affectionate however much cruelity and treachery exits between these relatives as depicted in the tales.

Folk-narratives offer an unusual primary source for the study of social, cultural, and institutional aspects of Indian life. The tales depict the dicotomy of life as it actually exits and vividly shows that what is rich is good, and what is poor, bad. Tales also provide supplementary information and exposes the new dimensions of Hindu family life.

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~~THE BALLADS OF UTTAR PRADESH~~
Some aspects of Indian Ballads

The folk-songs of Indian dilects can be divided into two parts for the purpose of scientific study of folk-literature. In the first category are those songs which are short in form. Such small folk songs are note-worthy for two factors or peculiarities. The first is that such songs have no ~~as~~ story or theme in their heart and the second is that songs of this sort have a quick and charming effect on the listeners, because they are short and have a quick psychological effect. The second category of folk songs are those which are more elaborate in form and content. This category of songs convey to the listeners or readers an interesting story in which there is a hero, a heroine, and other characters who act or react according to the theme of the story. Story, theme or the description of incident is the main factor of such songs. Songs of customs, traditions, castes and separation belong to the first category while the Gopi Chand, Bhatari, Sorathi, Hir Ranjha, Vijaya Mal, Van-gare, Dhola Maru, Raja Rasul and Alha belong to the second category. Each dialectical area has its own peculiarity of traditions and customs and so it has its own folk songs and riddles etc. The second type of songs are similar to ballads. What is a ballad? Robert Grems defines a 'ballad' in the following words:-

"It is connected with the word 'ballad' and originally meant a song or refrain intended as accompaniment to dancing, but later covered any song in which a group of people socially joined." (The English Ballad-Introduction). In England the folk-singers used to combine ballad with group dance, but later on group dancing ceased to ~~see~~ exist. The ballads of Hindi literature are some what different from English ballads. Hindi ballads do not have any association with group dance. Hindi

ballads are interesting and have tremendous power to influence the readers. Hindi ballads have no one form. From place to place they change in form and hence there is no sole version. Kitriz has correctly said that "It follows that a genuinely popular ballad can have no fixed and final form, no sole authentic version. There are texts, but there is no text." (The English and Scottish Popular Ballads-Introduction pages 17-18). With this short introduction about Hindi folksongs let us consider the Hindi ballad. Hindi-speaking area in India being very large, we shall confine our remarks to Uttar Pradesh.

Uttar Pradesh formerly known as United Provinces is situated in North India. Uttar Pradesh is the centre of Indian Culture and politics. Every province in India has its own cultural peculiarity and so has Uttar Pradesh. U.P. or Uttar Pradesh is very rich in folk songs and folk literature. The following ballads are very popular and generally sung in U.P.:-

(1) Gopi Chand, (2) Bharatri, (3) Nal Damyanti
(4) Aalha-Udal, (5) Dhola-Maru.

Besides these important and well-known ballads there are many others which are occasionally sung on festivals and ceremonies. Amongst such ballads the most noteworthy are:-

(1) Sita-Ram (2) Krishna-Janma (3) Kans-Badh

Of these ballads the most popular are Gopichand Bhartari and Aalha-Udal. They are sung in all parts of U.P. but they are more popular in towns, small villages and in the interior of the districts. Far from the centre of modern fashion, fashionable culture and sophisticated atmosphere of the cities are situated small villages and towns in U.P. where these ballads are sung with great enthusiasm and delight. In the villages and towns of U.P. these ballads are a means of recreation, entertainment and social gathering. In every town there are persons

who specialise in singing ballads. Competitions are held among villagers in singing ballads. These seven ballads mentioned above can be classified into four classes:-

1. Love Ballad - Nal Damyanti, Bhartari,
2. Heroic Ballad - Aalha Udal,
3. Religious Ballads - Sita Ram,
4. Traditional Ballads - Gopichand.

Of these ballads 'Aalha-Udal' is the most popular. But it is curious to note that it is sung only during the rainy season. The clouds, the continuous rains, the occasional flash of lightening or thunder and the sound of frongs inspire both the singers and the listeners of ballads. The dense black clouds, the rumbling of thunder, rainbows, the dark and dull atmosphere of the rainy season infuse such enthusiasm in the lovers of ballads that for hours they continue to listen or recite them without the least disturbance. The sentiments and emotions of the assembly are greatly excited and the assembly forgets itself in the descriptions of bravery of Aalha and Udal.

Aalha Udal is generally sung or recited at night. After finishing all the duties of daily life the people assemble at leisure in the centre of the village or town where the recitation is held. At this time the person who recites or sings the ballad is held high in the estimation of the assembly. The singer or reciter lays emphasis on the guileless, sincere and straight characters of Aalha and Udal. The spotless, unstained and immovable characters of Aalha and Udal inspire people greatly and so silence rules all round.

The ballad, Aalha-Udal, is sung with the instrument Dholak, a small drum. The drummer knows well when and in what references the drum has to be beaten quickly, so as

to indicate the tenseness of the description and the moment. The drummer knows well the mood of the singer and is well acquainted with the story. He also knows well as to when the drum should be handled, in what manner so as to enhance the charm of the recitation.

Now a few words about this ballad. Eleven years after the death of Prithvi Raj Chauhan, came the downfall of Mahoba, which remained the centre of bravery and deroism for a century in the past. Jagnik, influenced by the chivalary of Parmal, wrote Alhakhand to make the glory of his hero immortal.

Aalha is chiefly a lyrical ballad having heroism, valour, prowess and chivalary as its subject matter. It does not command literary importance but ix has got to its credit the fancy of the general public. This great ballad was not reduced to writing in the beginning and was carried from mouth to mouth. Its text is, therefore, deformed and altered. The language also bears the marks and signs of change from time to time. In spite of being a work of 12th century, it has words like "Pistal", "Rifle" and "Bayonet", which never existed in India in the 12th century.

Due to the fruitful efforts of Sir Charles Elliot, the ballad 'Aalha-Udal' was first reduced to writing in the year 1865 A.D. Sir George Grierson & Mr. Vicent Smith also made attempts to compile the ballad. Mr. W. Waterfield translated this ballad in English ballad metre, which was published in Calcutta Review in the year 1875-76 under the title "The Nine Lakh Chains or the Maro-Fend".

The ballad Aalha-Udal is full of exaggeration and repetition. The description of a scene of battle again and again again or repetition in the mention of arms and weapons creates a feeling of monotony. The links are missing in the story of the ballad. It seems the writer of this ballad had a poor

knowledge of geography of the country. The exaggerations are ridiculous. But inspite of all this nobody can deny that this ballad contains an attractive, elegant and captivating story of bravery and chivalry. Since the time of its composition this great ballad must have inspired innumerable persons. It is a precious treasure of the masses - the people, and with this idea in our mind we must value this ballad.

Next to Aalha Udal, 'Gopi Chand' and 'Bhartari' are very popular ballads in U.P. Many texts of these ballads are available and prevalent among ballad loving persons. "Gopi-chand" and "Bhartari" are also popular in Bengal. But the ballads which are popular in U.P. are somewhat different from those heard in Bengal. These two ballads are sung on 'Ektara' instrument. These ballads describe the spirit of renunciation dominating Gopichand and Bhartari. Like Aalha-Udal they do not command a large gathering. These ballads are generally sung in village fairs or religious festivals. There is no doubt that these ballads have also inspired innumerable persons.

'Nal-Damayanti' and 'Bhartari' are love ballads. The story of 'Nal & Damayanti' and their separation and reunion constitute the theme of the ballad. In the ballad 'Bhartari' we hear the song of separation of Bhartari and his wife.

Sita-Ram, Krishna Janma, and Kansbadh are religious ballads, recited at religious festivals.

The chief characteristics of these ballads ~~as~~ are as follows:-

(1) The authors of the ballads are unknown, with an exception of Aalha Udal. It is said that Aalha-Udal was written by Jagnik. But some historians of Hindi literature do not agree on this point. However regarding other ballads it is completely sure that their authors are unknown.

(2) The authentic texts of the ballads are not available.

Every singer, while singing adds or substitutes the words of his choice. From time to time major changes are made by the singer in the body of the Text. Some times it happens that the singer substitutes or adds fresh names also. The more popular a ballad is, the greater the chances of changes in the text.

(3) No attempt has been made by the poets to impart advice to the readers or listeners by means of these ballads. They do not preach morality or Ethics;

(4) The ballads are not highly advanced in technique. The technique of writing poetry has not been closely followed here. Actually artistic touches are not to be seen in such poetry.

(5) The ballads mentioned above are free from the influence or domination of the personality of the author. The fact is that there is no account of the author. We don't feel that the author has ever existed. There are absolutely no comments or reflections by the narrator. The story develops by its own self. The descriptions are lively and they have great power of influencing the readers and listeners.

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FIFTH CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR FOLK-NARRATIVE RESEARCH

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CONGRESS PAPER PRESENTED BY

Dr. Adeboye Babalọla

HUMOROUS TRICKSTER TALES IN YORUBA ORAL LITERATURE

HUMOROUS TRICKSTER TALES IN YORUBA ORAL LITERATURE

A research project recently undertaken by the present writer has yielded a harvest of 247 distinct tales of Tortoise,[1] the dominant trickster in Yoruba folk tales. The themes of the tales are multifarious and may be classified in several ways e.g. Tortoise as a hero; Tortoise as a villain; Tortoise as a fool; Tortoise in different scrapes; Tortoise in different roles - as a judge, as a magician, as a confidence trickster, as a borrower, etc; Tortoise in different associations with birds, with animals or with plants; Tortoise in different economic ventures, fishing, hunting, travelling, palm wine - production etc.

One remarkable fact revealed by the project is that the traditional corpus of Yoruba tales of Tortoise has not at all been static but that gifted story-tellers have always made fresh improvisations yielding new tales from generation to generation. One raconteur boastfully said, "I can compose overnight as many as one hundred brand new tales of Tortoise each with a semblance of ancient origin." Moreover, up-to-date adaptations are made in the tales; for example, a ready adjustment has been made from cowries to modern currency in references to money, and Tortoise now attends literacy classes hoping in due course to become a clerk in the offices of the local district Council.

The didactic purpose is recurrent in the telling of the tales. As there are traditional opening gambits for the narrator to employ, so there are traditional closing remarks to the tale. These final comments from the story-teller's lips invariably point the moral in the tale. The tales are obviously meant to instruct by pleasing, to use amusement and laughter as a vehicle for moral exhortation.

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[1] The reference here is solely to Yoruba Tales of Tortoise. Of the entire traditional Yoruba repertory of tales, the current estimate is 5000 distinct tales.

Since this Congress is expected to pay particular attention to folk jests, I give below, in English translation, the text of six tales, from the Yoruba repertory of Tales of Tortoise which feature practical jokes.

TORTOISE RIDES ON MR. LEOPARD

NARRATOR: Here is a tale!
AUDIENCE: Let's hear the tale!
NARRATOR: My tale centres round Tortoise:
Tortoise, the Man of Valour, Husband of Yánnibo.
The man whose feet are very elastic just like the palm-tree's male inflorescence.
Whose coccyx betrays him in his castle.
Whose head is barely visible when he's walking across a plot of groundnut plants.
But who yet says, "Thanks to my being tall!"

One day, at a get-together of the male animals, the conversation turned on each person's appraisal of his own wife. Leopard asserted that his wife's rating was 'Excellent'. Then Tortoise asked him what gainful employment his wife was engaged in. Leopard said it was petty-trading in the local market. The following day Tortoise went to the market, called on Leopard's wife and told her, "I want to marry you."

She replied, "Pshaw! Don't you know my husband?"

Tortoise asked, "Who is your husband?" She answered, "Leopard, the terrible one, who dry-shaves his enemy's head. He is my husband."

Tortoise commented, "Pshaw! Leopard is my servant! he serves me as a horse; it's on him I ride whenever I wish."

She was amazed to hear this and she promised, "If you can show me convincingly that Leopard is your horse, I will divorce him immediately and marry you."

Tortoise then told her that on the next market-day he would ride on Leopard and call on her at the market for her to see the spectacle.

Tortie's next step was to pay a visit to Leopard in his house. When he got there, Leopard greeted him but he made no reply. He resolutely frowned his face. Leopard asked him, "What's the matter?"

Tortoise then spoke; he said, "My friend, I see you've been up to some mischief. When I saw your wife today, she was furious with me. She complained bitterly that I seldom saw her socially. So I promised her that on the next market-day I would go with you to see her in the market." Leopard said that was all right.

On the appointed day, Tortoise had in his baggage a saddle, a pair of spurs, a bridle and other gear . When they got to a deep river a few miles from the market, Tortoise said, "This is an insurmountable obstacle for me."

Leopard asked, "What do you mean?" Tortoise replied, "You know I cannot swim. I shan't be able to cross this river."

Leopard then invited Tortoise to ride on his back. No sooner had Tortoise sat on Leopard's back than he began to fidget and complain that he might fall down. So he begged Leopard to allow him to put a bridle on him to steady himself. Leopard graciously consented. Soon Tortoise stealthily wore the spurs. When they had crossed the river, Leopard told Tortoise, "Right you are, get down now."

Tortoise replied, "Move on, if you please; don't you know you are my horse? Leopard hesitated. Then Tortoise pricked his sides with the spurs and he ran on and on. When they had nearly reached the market, Leopard again asked Tortoise to get down. Tortoise refused and again spurred Leopard, saying, "Move on, if you please."

Leopard dashed off and ran past his wife in the market. Tortoise there waved to Leopard's wife and shouted, "My intention was to stop and greet you but this ungovernable horse of

mine won't stop."

Leopard's wife was thus convinced that her husband was a servant to Tortoise. As Tortoise rode on homeward on Leopard's back, he came to a spot where there was a large rock by the road side. Immediately he jumped off Leopard's back and hurriedly crawled to a hiding place beneath the rock. Leopard was unaware of Tortie's descent until he met Bush Pig on the way and opened conversation with him by saying, "See what ignominy I have been subjected to by Tortoise today!"

"What ignominy?" inquired Bush Pig. Leopard answered, "Don't you see him on my back where he sits, riding me like a horse?"

Bush Pig exclaimed, "But Tortoise is not on your back now! I saw him a few minutes ago hiding under a rock."

"Please take me there, "implored Leopard. So Bush Pig led Leopard to the particular rock. However, Tortoise was absolutely inaccessible and as Leopard was already feeling hungry he just went away in anger to look for some food to eat. He did not even thank Bush Pig at all. This was how Tortoise successfully played a trick on Leopard in order to have a laugh at his expense.

This is the end of my tale. If it is all a pack of lies, may my mouth's bell now fail to give forth a sound. If it is not a pack of lies, may my mouth's bell give forth a sound three times consecutively.

Here we go: "Pip, Pip, Pip."

TORTOISE DEFEATS ELEPHANT IN A WRESTLING MATCH

NARRATOR: Here is a tale!

AUDIENCE: Let's hear the tale!

NARRATOR: My tale centres round Tortoise, Tortoise the tall man who climbs on a stool before he can see the soup in the pot on the fire in the kitchen.

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One day, Tortoise went up to Elephant at a social gathering and boastfully told him, "I can beat you in a wrestling match."

Elephant retorted, "That's impossible! You're merely being silly."

Tortoise replied, "I'am quite serious. I call all the people here to witness that I am putting a challenge to you to face me in a wrestling match at your earliest convenience."

Elephant commented, "All right. I accept the challenge and solemnly swear now that if you beat me in the wrestling contest, I will commit suicide almost immediately thereafter." Then they both agreed to meet in seven days' time for the match, and this was announced to the entire gathering.

On the day before the fixed day, Tortoise bought some maize-starch and made a thick marrow-like solution of it in water in a gourd having a lid. He also bought some camwood powder and made a bloodred solution of it in water in another gourd having a lid. Furthermore, he bought some horse dung... and kept it in a long belt-like purse made of leather.

On the agreed day, they met and started to wrestle with each other.

Tortoise had hired a master drummer who came with his band of drummers to cheer Tortoise on the occasion. Elephant likewise had a band of drummers to work wonders for him with their drum music.

The words of the initial song rendered in drum language by Elephants' drummers were merely three words viz. "Tẹ́ ẹ́ pẹ́tẹ́pẹ́tẹ́! (meaning "Mash him thoroughly") repeated over and over again. As the drums beat out this song, Elephant danced round the arena, treading heavily.

Then Tortie's drummers began to beat their own drums. The words of their initial song were simply "Ọlọ́gbọn ọgbọ́n ìjà abahun ọ̀ọ̀." (meaning "Everyone has his own device. Tortoise is unique in wrestling skill.") As Elephant swung his

trunk in a bid to pick up Tortoise, Tortoise dodged him briskly and hit him on his buttocks with the purse containing dung some of which dropped to the ground immediately. Tortoise shouted, "Everybody look at this. Elephant has defaecated in fear".

Elephant was annoyed at this and made another effort to pick up Tortoise. Tortoise dodged again and cleverly moved to Elephant's side where he broke the gourd containing the bloodred solution. Then he shouted, "Everybody now look at this. Elephant is bleeding profusely."

Elephant was further enraged and tried ye. again to grab Tortoise. Tortoise artfully dodged as usual and climbed up a tree. As Elephant came to the tree and was about to uproot it, Tortoise hit him on the head with the gourd containing the marrow-like solution. From Elephant's head the substance dripped to the ground and Tortoise exclaimed, "Everybody look at this. I have already cracked Elephant's head; the marrow from his brain is what is dripping down now."

At this Elephant took fright and ran away. He thought Tortie's claim must be true from the visible evidence of the dripping marrow. This was how Tortoise defeated Elephant in a wrestling match.

Thus ends my tale. If it is all a pack of lies, may my mouth's bell now fail to give forth a sound. If it is not a pack of lies, may my mouth's bell give forth a sound three times consecutively.

Here we go: "Pip, Pip, Pip."

TORTOISE WOOS BUJEBUJE

NARRATOR: Here is a tale!

AUDIENCE: Let's hear the tale!

NARRATOR: My tale centres on Tortoise the famous man
who built himself a castle but could not design
it well enough to accommodate his coccyx.

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One day, Tortoise learnt that there was in the town a beautiful maiden called Bùjébùjé who had refused to become the fiancee of any of those gentlemen who came to her as suitors. Yet all sorts of young men from far and near had tried their luck in wooing her, light-skinned young men and dark-skinned young men; slender young men and robust young men; tall young men and short young men. Untitled young men and titled young men; rich young men and poor young men; Kings and Chiefs. All had tried in vain to win Bùjébùjé's affection.

This maiden was really very beautiful. She was tall and slender; her complexion was chocolate brown and her skin was smooth and glossy. Moreover her conduct and her comportment were superb. She was courteous, cheerful, sociable and hard-working. In the opinion of every right-thinking person, she would make an ideal wife. But as yet she had not accepted any man as her lover.

Tortoise was furious when he learnt of Bùjébùjé's arrogance. He said to himself, "What does the girl mean? Isn't she a female creature indeed? I am a man. It's a man's prerogative to marry a woman. I will take Bùjébùjé to wife. Willy-nilly, Bùjébùjé will become my wife."

Tortoise began to watch Bùjébùjé's movements. He was pleasantly surprised when he found out that in fact the girl daily passed by his farm on her way to and from a river. This put an idea into his head. He begged the farmers working on the farmplot next to his own to sell a dead snake to him as soon as possible. He stipulated that the snake must be long and big. A few days later, such a snake was sold to Tortoise.

Tortoise carried away the dead snake and kept it on his farm. The following day as soon as he noticed that Bùjébùjé had passed towards the river, he set a guard about a hundred yards off to warn him as soon as Bùjébùjé reappeared on her return trip . At the agreed signal, Tortoise placed the snake

across the footpath and carefully set its head menacingly against the approaching maiden. Then he pretended to be working hard on his farm by the roadside.

When Bùjébùjé saw the snake at close quarters, she screamed in terror "Help! Help! Help! A big snake is here! Save my soul!" At once Tortoise dropped his hoe, took his cutlass and went to the rescue. First he deliberately landed a cutlass stroke on his shank before he cut off the snake's head. He had tied to his shank earlier on a small lidded gourd full of a chick's blood. Of course the cutlass had now broken the gourd and let out a frightening issue of blood. After 'Killing' the snake, Tortoise sat down to bemoan his wound. Soon he turned his cries into song and said:

Bùjébùjé has killed me.
O Bùjébùjé!
Bùjébùjé has killed me.
O Bùjébùjé!
I was busy on my farm.
O Bùjébùjé!
I was clearing some weeds.
O Bùjébùjé!
Bùjé cried to me for help.
O Bùjébùjé!
She begged me to kill a snake.
O Bùjébùjé!
I've killed the snake and gashed my shank.
O Bùjébùjé!
You must now put me on your back.
O Bùjébùjé!
You must then start dancing to soothe my pain.
O Bùjébùjé!
Then place me on your hips.
O Bùjébùjé!
The buttocks give the greatest thrill.
O Bùjébùjé.

Thus Tortoise pined in song and writhed in pretended pain. Bùjé began to cry in grief; She blamed herself for having been the cause of Tortie's wound. Very soon a large crowd of people had gathered round them. They heard Tortie's song and prevailed on Bùjé to put him on her back.

Then Tortoise began to pester Bùjé in various ways. As she walked on, Tortoise would repeatedly complain to her saying, "You're walking too fast". or "You're too slow, hurry up!" The crowd followed them. Many were happy to see Bùjé come to such a disgraceful strait since she had arrogantly remained single all these years. They freely passed comments on Bùjé's conduct. Bùjé kept on sobbing or weeping all the time.

On the crowd's instruction, she carried Tortoise to the King's Palace and set him down. The king heard statements from both parties and his Chiefs were just conferring to decide what judgement the king should pass when Tortoise cried out, "Please carry me home! Just carry me home at once!"

Bùjé burst afresh into tears and pleaded to the king, "Your Majesty, I pray you pass your judgement. However large the sum of money that you may order me to pay to Tortoise, I will promptly pay it. But to carry him to his house, I cannot bring myself to do that; my heart recoils at the thought."

The king then spoke and said, "You have spoken arrogantly. For that very reason, I order you to carry Tortoise to his house and nurse him for seven days or face execution." By now all the relations of Bùjébùjé had come to the palace to help her. The king had spoken. They advised Bùjé to carry Tortoise home. So once again Tortoise was put on Bùjé's back and she carried him to his house. Her relatives brought her own requirements along for her to use during the said period of seven days.

Having got home, Tortoise showed Bùjé the guest room where she should stay. Then he made the following announcement to the

crowd of people: "Behold, everybody, I have now taken Bùjé to wife." The crowd applauded.

Bùjé protested and cried, "No! No! No! I'm here only as your nurse, on the king's orders. You must be out of your senses!"

The crowd hooted at her. As visitors began to stream into Tortie's house to congratulate him on his new wife, Bùjé pondered in her mind what to do. At last she hit on a plan and decided to implement it.

She went up to Tortoise and, without kneeling down as a wife should do before her husband, she said, "I want to go to the river to fetch water for you."

Again, contrary to the traditional privilege accorded to a bride, the people did not offer to send someone else to the river to fetch water. They agreed that Bùjé should go to the river. A little girl was told to accompany her.

On the way to the river, Bùjé suddenly stopped at one spot, put down her pot and told the girl, "Wait for me, I want to answer the call of nature." So she stepped into the bush, walked a few yards and halted. To the girl's horror, Bùjé was transformed into a beautiful tree on that spot, a tree with many fruits hanging attractively from its branches.

Immediately the girl ran as fast as her legs could carry her and sped home to report the wonderful event. The people at once rushed to the spot to see the wonder tree to which the name Bùjé was given there and then as a matter of course.

As for Tortoise, he wept and wept for grief. Great was his regret that after all he had not succeeded in his bid to take Bùjé to wife.

So ends my tale. If it is all a pack of lies, may my mouths's bell now fail to give forth a sound. If it is <u>not</u> a pack of lies, may my mouth's bell give forth a sound three times consecutively.

Here we go: "Pip, Pip, Pip."

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TORTOISE GIVES HIS FAECES TO THE KING TO EAT

NARRATOR: Here is a tale!

AUDIENCE: Let's hear the tale!

NARRATOR: My tale centres round Tortoise and the King of his town. One day Tortoise jokingly told the king at a drinks party, "I could get you to eat my excrement some time, you know." The King's retort was, "You must be getting crazy. That's impossible!"

Tortoise commented, "Let's wait and see".

So one day Tortoise took some dry maize grains and pounded /thus them very fine/producing maize flour. He kneaded the flour with honey and then fried it in morsel-size pieces. Next he placed the "cakes" in a deep, lidded calabash and carried this to the king's farm. Before then he had overheard the king's three little children saying at about 10 a.m. that they would soon go to their father's farm at Idí Íróko (a place name meaning Where stands a mighty Íróko Tree) to gather some peppers. So Tortoise made for the king's farm and carried the cakes with him right up to the top of the Íróko tree.

As soon as he saw the king's children approaching the foot of the tree, he dropped one cake. The children saw it and picked it up, wondering what it was. One of them tasted it and pronounced it sweet; he burst into song, say:

The king's Íróko tree has borne fruit.
Therefore let's rejoice.
The king's Íróko tree has borne fruit.
Therefore let's rejoice.
The king sent us to fetch some okro here.
Therefore let's rejoice.
The king sent us to fetch some ikàn here.
Therefore let's rejoice.
The king's Íróko tree has borne fruit.
Therefore let's rejoice.

Here is one fruit, you take and taste it.
Therefore, let's rejoice.
Here is one fruit, you take and taste it.
Therefore let's rejoice.

So he gave the "fruit" to one of his partners. The second child took a bite of it and also pronounced it sweet before passing it to the third. Tortoise then threw down some more cakes. One of the children curiously looked up among the tree branches to see where the fruits dropped from. But he could not locate the spots neither could he see Tortoise well-hidden away as he was behind the leafy branches of the tree. The children gathered the "fruits" and hurriedly returned home, dancing and singing as they went:

The King's ìrókò tree has borne fruit.
Therefore let's rejoice.
The King's ìrókò tree has borne fruit.
Therefore let's rejoice.
The King sent us to fetch some okro there.
Therefore let's rejoice.
The King sent us to fetch some ikân there.
Therefore let's rejoice.
The King's ìrókò tree has borne fruit.
Therefore let's rejoice.
Here is one fruit, you take and taste it.
Therefore let's rejoice.
Here is one fruit, you take and taste it.
Therefore let's rejoice.

As soon as they got home, all those who heard the words of their song exclaimed in surprise, "Ìrókò fruit? Wonderful!" The children gave one fruit to the King's Counsellors seated at a meeting. They all ate of it and declared that it was sweet. Next the children gave one fruit to their father who, having eaten it with relish, announced that he intended to

visit the irókò tree immediately. The time was then about noon. So off went the King and his retinue to the farm to see the wonderful fruit-bearing irókò tree.

As soon as Tortoise saw the party approaching, he threw down some more "cakes". The King and his chiefs ate the lot with gusto. Tortoise then threw down the remaining cakes which the King ordered his servants to carry home intact. The king then returned to the palace and Tortoise stealthily came down from the irókò tree and went to his own house.

The following day, Tortoise called on the king in his palace and said, "Your Majesty, have you or have you not eaten my faeces?"

The king answered, "Certainly not." Then Tortoise said, "For your information let me tell you now that the so-called irókò fruits which your children first ate and later gave you to eat yesterday were cakes which made from my faeces fried with honey."

The King was horrified. He entered his privy chamber immediately, saying "It's better for a man to die than to suffer such ignominy." So the King committed suicide and another king reigned in his stead.

Thus ends my tale. If it is all a pack of lies, may my mouth's bell now fail to give forth a sound. But if it is not a pack of lies, may my mouth's bell now give forth a sound three times consecutively.

Here we go: "Pip, Pip, Pip."

CRICKET TEACHES TORTOISE A LESSON

NARRATOR: Here is a tale!

AUDIENCE: Let's hear the tale!

NARRATOR: My tale centres round Tortoise and Cricket.

One day as Cricket was returning home from his farm, carrying a load of yams on his head, he met Tortoise on the way. Tortoise stopped him with a greeting and then said,

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"Hello, Cricket, I don't like your attitude to me, you know. Here you are daily growing fatter and healthier whilst I am hardly able to maintain my minimum level of good health. Yet you don't give me anything out of the abundance of your harvests. By the way where is your farm plot for these yams?"

Cricket replied, "That I won't tell you."

Tortoise persisted with his request. Cricket then told him, "If you will swear solemnly not to disclose the place to anyone else, I will take you there one day." Tortoise swore on the spot and Cricket asked him to keep reminding him of his promise.

At last Tortoise got Cricket to fix a day for their visit to the farm. They set out at crack of dawn and soon got to the farm. There they dug out many yam tubers, had a good lunch of roasted yam and returned home in the afternoon, each with a load of yams on his head.

Before they left the farm that day, Cricket performed a ritual which, he told Tortoise, was binding on him. The ritual was as follows:

By the side of his hut lay a large canoe-shaped frying pot containing palm oil. Cricket hopped into this pot and began to swim in the oil, singing over and over again as he swam:

I, the owner of elèyintú yams,
I, Cricket, do thus refreshen my oily skin.

After some time he stepped out of the pot, and then, placing his load on his head, told Tortoise, "Let's be off now."

A few days later Cricket called on Tortoise and said, "News has just reached me of the death of my wife's uncle. Will you please go with me to the funeral obsequies tomorrow?"

Tortoise replied, "Ha! What a pity! The wife of my own uncle-in-law has just given birth to a baby and I must go and greet the family tomorrow. I'm so sorry I cannot go with you on your own visit.

In fact my visit is a long distance affair; I can't be back earlier than two days' time. The town is fifteen miles away."

Cricket answered, "That's all right. What cannot be helped must be endured." And he went his way. He had a very strong suspicion that Tortoise was lying and that in truth Tortoise would go to his (Cricket's) farm to steal. Cricket's uncle-in-law was not dead either. Cricket was merely using a ruse. He would go and lie in wait for Tortoise on the farm.

At day break, Cricket quickly set out for his farm. When he got there he bore an underground tunnel from the foot of a tree near the hut, to the spot directly beneath the frying pot. There he made a smokeless fire of coals to boil the oil in the pot and to keep it on the boil for a long time.

It was not long before Tortoise arrived. After digging out a large number of yam tubers on the farm, he tied them up as a big load and set this down near the hut. Then he said, "Let me perform that ritual which I saw Cricket perform the other day. I guess it's for good luck."

So he crawled to the frying pot and clambered into it. He could not complete the first line of the incantation song before the heat of the oil rendered him powerless. He splashed about helplessly in the boiling oil vainly trying to get out and save himself. He was nearly fried to death before Cricket came out of hiding and rescued him, saying, "I set a test for you my friend and you have failed woefully. You must mend your ways."

Tortoise was too ashamed and too weak to make any reply. With an effort, he dragged himself to a disused ant hill nearly and hid himself there until nightfall when he set out for home. For the next three months he was a sick man confined to his house, being nursed by his wife.

That is the end of my tale. The tale teaches us that thievery is bad.

If it is a pack of lies, may my mouth's bell now fail to give forth a sound.

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But if it is not a pack of lies, may my mouth's bell now give forth a sound three times consecutively.

Here we go: "Pip, Pip, Pip."

TORTOISE FOOLS MR. LION

NARRATOR: Here is a tale!

AUDIENCE: Let's hear the tale!

NARRATOR: My tale centres round Tortoise and Lion.

One day as the animals were walking in a single file along a footpath on their way to a social somewhere, Tortoise hid in the bush by the roadside, watching secretly for Lion's appearing. He saw the animals as they passed. Buffalo, Cane Rat, Bush Buck, Redflanked Duiker, Maxwell's Duiker, Elephant, Gazelle, Leopard, and then Lion. Quickly Tortoise came out onto the path and hailed Lion. Lion stopped and Tortoise walked up to him; then they both went along together. Tortoise said, "There's a suggestion I have long been wishing to make to you, Lion. It has been escaping my memory all the while. I'm glad I have now remembered it."

Lion asked, "What is it?"

Tortoise answered, "You see, I think your handsomeness will be greatly enhanced if you can get your hair nicely plaited, especially your mane."

"Yes, that's a good idea. But the operative word in your suggestion is "nicely". "Who can plait my hair nicely for me?"

"O, I can, "boasted Tortoise, "provided you will follow my instructions."

Lion promised to comply with Tortie's directions and agreed to have Tortoise plait his hair for him. They fixed date and place for the job.

When they met on the fixed day and at the agreed spot at the foot of a big tree in the forest, Tortoise said, "Well, you must first get yourself a number of stools to place one on top of the other to sit on for it is on the topmost tree branch I

shall sit while you'll reach towards me with your head."

Lion said he had a better idea in respect of that and he hurried off to a spot nearby where lay a fallen tree. He got hold of an axe and cut the tree trunk easily into portable cylindrical pieces. These he piled one on top of the other until the topmost one was close enough to Tortie's seat on the topmost branch of the tree.

Now all was set. Lion sat on his seat before Tortoise and Tortoise began to plait the hair. Lion could not look up by reason of the very nature of the operation. So he did not realise that Tortoise was plaiting the hair and firmly tying each plait round the tree branch. When Tortoise had finished plaiting all the hair, he told Lion, "I have finished now, but do excuse me, I want to appraise the quality of the plaiting by seeing it all in proper perspective from a distance. Just a minute."

So saying, Tortoise crawled down to the foot of the tree, got hold of a plank and with it he pushed out of position one of the 'stools' on which Lion was sitting. Immediately all the other stools came tumbling down and formed a confused heap on the ground. Lion then involuntarily swung into mid air, hanging by his hair from the tree branch. He roared in pain, anger and fright. He shouted an appeal to Tortoise, "Tortoise! Tortoise! Tortoise! Please come and release me. Please come and release me! Please come and release me!" Tears were rolling down his cheeks but Tortoise took it all as a jest. He hurriedly disappeared from the scene.

Soon Giant Rat came on the scene and Lion begged him to climb up and release him. Giant Rat refused to do this, giving as his excuse his fear that Lion would subsequently eat him up. Several other animals who came to the spot reacted likewise to Lion's plea. At last Snail came there by chance and he agreed to release Lion. He crawled up the tree and very perseveringly he kept licking the knots of Lion's hair on the tree branch until they all gave way and Lion fell to the ground.

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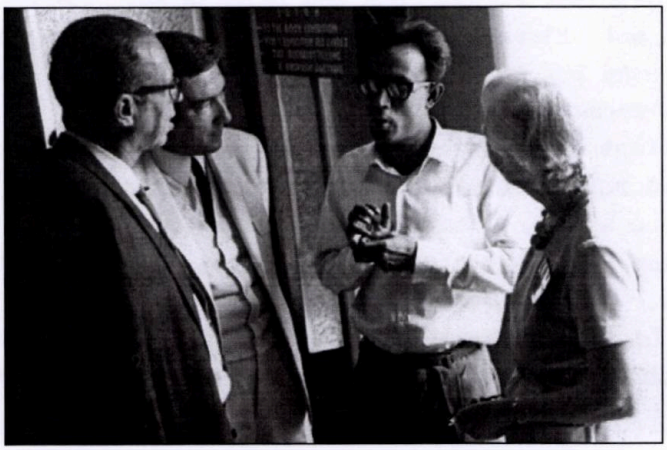
Without even waiting to say 'Thank you' to Snail, Lion dashed off in search of Tortoise. He searched and searched and searched for the trickster but he could not find him.

This was how Tortoise went away scot free after torturing Lion. This story teaches us to look before we leap.

Thus ends my tale. If it is all a pack of lies, may my mouth's bell now fail to give forth a sound. But if it is not a pack of lies, may my mouth's bell now give forth a sound three times consecutively.

Here we go: "Pip, Pip, Pip."

Carl-Herman Tillhagen: Stockholm, K.M. Briggs (FL 1916/24/44437)



R.M. Dorson, ?, S.G. Sankar, K.M. Briggs (FL 1915/21/44525)

Sulițeanu G.
Sulițeanu, G

La musique dans les narrations des Orientaux de la République Socialiste de Roumanie.

La présence de la musique dans la catégorie des narrations populaires constitue encore un domaine trop peu connu et étudié. Toutefois elle peut relever un aspect important non seulement pour délimiter le spécifique de certains peuples ou d'un style d'exécution, mais aussi pour fournir des données prêtables à la recherche d'une certaine évolution dans le temps, de l'existence même de certaines espèces narratives de celles qui ont conservé l'exécution musicale, que de celles qui l'ont perdue.

L'exécution musicale dans le contenu des narrations populaires, paraît être représentative pour l'une des plus anciennes couches de leur existence, en nous obligeant presque de penser aux épopées homériques, finlandaises, indiennes, tatares et des autres peuples, qui se développaient -nous pouvons le supposer- vocal, légèrement mélopéïque, sur le fond des sons monotones d'un instrument musical. Comme témoignage nous avons non seulement les données (vraiment encore peu nombreuses) obtenues par tangente et par déduction[1], mais aussi le style d'exécution existant aujourd'hui chez certains peuples (bachkires, kirghises, arabes, turcs, tatares, égyptiens, etc.).

La prise en considération de la musique nous a découvert une problématique riche et intéressante concernant : 1) la qualité détenue par la musique dans le contenu de certaines espèces narratives; 2) les différents aspects de la structure du texte musical; 3) l'essai de stadialiser et de référir aux autres catégories folkloriques actuelles avec les inflexions narratives.

Pour en citer des exemples, nous nous sommes servi d'un très bon

matériel obtenu à l'occasion des recueils effectués chez les orientaux tatares et turcs de notre pays[2]. Parmi les genres et les catégories folkloriques musicales recueillis, dans la plus grande partie inédites, dans la bibliographie de la folkloristique orientale internationale[3], l'attention nous a été attirée par l'existence de la musique dans quelques espèces narratives. Celles-ci sont : A. des narrations épiques à caractère d'épopée, ayant le contenu axé spécialement sur les actes de vaillance des héros; B. des narrations d'amour et C. des narrations au sujet des animaux, des oiseaux, etc. Dans chacune de ces narrations, la musique joue un rôle différent, dépendant du contexte de l'espèce narrative, mais dans toutes elle apparaît aux moments psychologiques clef, d'intervention verbale active[4] du personnage ou des personnages principaux.

Ainsi comme on a pu encore les recueillir aujourd'hui, ces espèces de narrations se développent en prose, pendant laquelle la musique est intercallée sur des types différents caractéristiques de versification, plus ou moins correspondants à la structure du langage parlé.

Il paraît que les rechercheurs lettrés qui ont étudié les narrations populaires dans tous les détails en ce qui concerne l'origine, la thématique et leur classification, ont attribué moins d'importance au style réel de leur exécution[5]. C'est probablement pourquoi Mr. Thompson[6] ne fait pas mention de l'existence de la musique, même ni quand il présente les narrations des peuples musulmans[7]. Or, la présence de la musique dans les narrations populaires de certains peuples orientaux a été signalée depuis longtemps, spécialement dans la littérature écrite arabe et turque, étant attestée par les passages versifiés, intercalés dans la prose.[8]

En faisant une incursion dans le passé éloigné de l'origine des narrations populaires, certains rechercheurs[9] l'ont attribuée à une fonctionnalité sacrée. Nous nous demandons si cette fonctionnalité n'impliquait aussi un style d'exécution spécifique avec d'imminentes inflexions rhythmico-mélodiques, ainsi comme l'on peut rencontrer de nos jours aussi non seulement chez les peuples sousdeveloppés, mais aussi chez certains peuples ayant une culture avancée.[10]

D'autre part,la conclusion de la provenance génétique directe et immédiate de l'epos dans le conte, -comme démontré par MM. V.Propp et St.Thompson[11] -, élève la question -en supposant avec beaucoup de certitude d'ailleurs ,que les épopées étaient chantées -pourquoi ? et d'où ont-elles pris la musique?

En assemblant ces quelques observations, nous pensons a un stade primaire,commun, aussi dans l'évolution du langage parlé, que de celui musical, dans lequel les manifestations vocales de la collectivité étaient scandées en une mélopée légère, comme résultat d'une organisation et accentuation métrico-rythmique très proches d'une expression musicale.

Nous pouvons encore présumer que ce style d'exécution n'était pas privé de l'accompagnement de quelque instrument musical primitif, ou était simplement accompagné rythmiquement par le claquement des mains.

Peût être que telles étaient les conditions psycho-physiologiques et artistiques dans lesquelles a évolué aussi la fonctionnalité de la narration populaire. Cet état originaire ne peut plus être constaté aujourd'hui meme pas aux populations les plus arriérées. Au contraire, nous avons à notre disposition une série de données matérielles qui peuvent faciliter à comprendre la présence de la musique dans certaines espèces narratives.

Nous avons en vue en premier lieu la nécessité humaine d'extérioriser aussi expressivement[12] que possible le contenu de la narration, qu'il soit sacré ou laïque. C'est à ce besoin que nous attribuons le plus de véridicité que donnent les passages musicaux. Ceux-ci remplissent aujourd'hui dans les espèces narratives analysées dans l'oeuvre présente,toujours la fonction de parler directement.Il résulte de cela aussi la correspondance parfaite entre le langage parlé et sa réalisation musicale,organisée sur la structure syntaxique du texte. La musique n'apparaît pas dans les narrations comme un acte gratuit,mais elle a le rôle important d'une communication directe.Les passages chantés apparaissent toujours soit sous forme de dialogues proprement-dits,soit dans certaines formules. Mais

chaque fois dans les épisodes de la narration, elle représente l'accentuation du comportement du personnage respectif. Nous mentionnons que la fonction du dialogue est relevée aussi par M.Ovidiu Bîrlea, quand il remarque la présence dans les contes roumains de quelques passages chantés[13]. Il fait en même temps aussi la délimitation entre ceux-ci et les formules typiques d'introduction et de conclusion caractéristiques aux contes, auxquels il attribue une fonctionnalité complètement différente. La musique dans les narrations du peuple roumain apparaît dans un contexte structural semblable à l'espèce C -comme on pourra remarquer plus loin dans l'oeuvre présente.

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Les trois espèces de narrations orientales avec des passages musicaux: (A)la narration-épopée ; (B) les contes d'amour et (C) Les narrations au sujet de animaux, nous ont permis les observations suivantes :

A. Dans l'étude sur l'épos "Şora-Batîr" chez les tatares de Dobroudja, réalisée en 1957 [14], j'ai fait une analyse complexe de ce type narratif, en l'encadrant -comme suite à la particularité de jonction de la prose avec la musique- dans une catégorie spéciale, que j'ai dénommée provisoirement "narration spécifique orientale". Premièrement pour la nécessité de la délimiter des formes de narration dépourvues de musique des autres peuples,ou de ceux dans lesquels la musique n'occupe pas une place si importante, et deuxièmement pour la distinguer des autres noms existants dans le peuple pour des autres catégories narratives, ou de celles improprement utilisées par les différents rechercheurs.Par exemple, le terme "masal" signifie conte[15],dans l'acception populaire,pendant que le terme "destan" utilisé par certains rechercheurs[16], a complètement une autre signification chez le peuple,étant donné aux chants créés à l'occasion du décès, par les parents ou par les amis du défunt. Elles décrivent (à la première personne)l'évènement de la mort, avec les regrets

et d'autres pensées de défunt. Ces chants avec un profond contenu narratif sont exécutés selon les chansons habituelles (sans être inclues dans le rituel funèbre). Sous la même dénomination j'ai aussi inclu les contes d'amour(B),tenant compte de leur forme apparentée.

Aussi la narration-épopée (A)que les histoires d'amour (B) sont connues dans le peuple sous le nom des héros principaux respectifs.[17] L'espèce de narration-épopée a des chansons avec une mélodique spécifique non seulement à chaque type séparément , mais quelquefois, -dans le contenu du même sujet-, la musique peut varier aussi d'après le contenu de l'épisode respectif.

La structure du texte et de la musique de ces chansons représente une forme archaïque considerée par nous comme étant la plus ancienne des trois espèces narratives analysées ici. La forme libre est la correspondance musicale parfaite de la cursivité de la narration. Elle est caractérisée spécialement par: la mobilité de la quantité des syllabes d'un vers à l'autre,l'organisation des lignes musicales dans des cycles inégaux,correspondant à l'expression de l'idée poétique, au style de l'éxecution syllabique,à la présence des interjonctions,à la liberté rythmique, à l'accentuation métrique. C'est une structure musicale récitative-mélopeïque, dans laquelle tous ces moyens nous indiquent aussi les reminiscences d'une étape hâtive de l'évolution musicale.Aujourd'hui ils contribuent à rendre le plus fidèlement le sens expressif, soit que le père se plaint en narrant à l'héros les sacrileges de l'ennemi, soit la réponse indignée du l'héros annoncant l'intention de punir l'ennemi, soit les excuses de celui-ci,ou la réponse impardonnable du héros,etc.[18]

Plus fort que dans les chansons épiques de nos jours, dans lesquelles le texte domine la musique[19],dans les narrations-épopées,les chants s'encadrent naturellement dans la prose, sans se trop distinguer de celle-ci, comme débit.Ceci a clairement resulté de l'essai que j'ai fait en 1957,en mesurant au métronome la valeur des syllabes du texte

parlé et du texte chanté.Il a résulté que nous avons à faire à des valeurs métrico-rythmiques identiques.[20].

Des dires des vieux, nous avons appris encore que ces narrations s'exécutaient dans le passé avec accompagnement permanent soutenu par le dombre (instrument à cordes percées).La prose et le chant avaient un fond sonore commun qui les favoraisait une fois de plus la cohésion. (Ex.musical 1-5 Sora-Batîr, mg 1227 ff).

B. Les parties musicales des contes d'amour ont la même fonction que dans la narration-épopée, mais appartenant à un stade musicalepoétiqu beaucoup plus évolué.Ici la musique est moins libre et suit un texte orig organisé d'après certaines lois,ce qui fait preuve aussi de l'apport probable des poétes-musiciens orientaux à une époque d'épanouissement de l'art musical-poétique avec des racines profondes dans l'art populaire du douzième et treizième siècle.

Le texte est organisé dans la structure de double versification[21] devenue classique.Chaque vers comprend deux hémistiches à 7-8 syllabes, composés à leur tour de deux sections à 4+3 ou 5+3 syllabes.L'organisation strophique contient deux vers pareils avec la rime sur des grands hémistiches: 1, 2 du premier vers et 2 du deuxième vers.L'exécution est syllabique, quelquefois mélismatique.La structure de la versification impose quelque fixité rythmique-métrique. La mélodie est précisément contourée, strophique,sous forme de chanson,aussi comme suite de la parfaite correspondance avec l'organisation du texte. Comme résultat de la correspondance avec un langage parlé cursif, on remarque,ainsi comme à la narration-épopée, l'absence habituelle de la répétition des vers[22], (voir le modèle Aris men Kamber, Chant I, La rencontre entre Aris et Kamber (mg 1228e.f.et La séparation (ex,6-7).

Nous désirons signaler un phénomène qui se passe dans l'évolution de ces deux espèces de narrations avec des chants,notamment : la

tendance de disparition de la prose et celle de circulation indépendante des chants comme des simples chansons proprement-dites. Cette fois elles apparaissent véhiculées spécialement par des femmes et des jeunes, non par des hommes[23]. Mais, outre le phénomène signalé par Cecil B.Sharp [24] concernant le conte-fable dont l'évolution a mené aussi à la séparation des chants de la prose(les premiers en devenant des ballades tandis que la prose s'amplifiait,devenant indépendante), ici la prose tend à disparaître complètement. La plupart des interprètes actuels ne connaissent pas la narration ou ignorent la provenance des chants, phénomène du reste naturel, -si nous rapportons le processus de décadence à notre temps, quand la pratique de la narration n'a plus l'ampleur du passé.

C. La troisième espèce narrative avec de la musique est présentée par les narrations au sujet des animaux. Dans cette espèce de facture completement distincte des espèces précédentes et qui par son contenu semble s'adresser plutôt aux enfants, la musique apparaît transposée dans leur langage. Elle comprend des courtes formules versifiées,que le personnage principal utilise chaque fois quand il explique le motif de son attitude dans des situations similaires.Nous rencontrons ici des vers à quatre syllabes, 5 (3+2)syllabes, 6 (4+2 ou 3+3)syllabes et 7 (4+3)syllabes, scandées métrico-rythmiquement et la structure musicale spécifique au répertoire des enfants. Tout de même dû à ce fait apparaissent les répétitions de vers-musique et la marche de la mélodie en sauts, avec l'utilisation fréquente des intervalles descendants de la petite et de la grande tierce. Bien que formée des formules stéréotypes propres a l'entier répertoire des enfants, la musique se particularise en différentes narrations d'un même narrateur, peut-être dû à sa fantaisie (ex.mus.8-9,modèle : Şoşami masali (le conte de l'alouette) mg 3458 j et Qarga masali (le conte de la corneille)mg 3458.

A cette espèce on utilise aussi les formules versifiées et récitées,caractéristiques au commencement du conte [25]. D'ailleurs le lieu

et la qualité que la musique occupe dans cette espèce narrative, sont entièrement différentes de ceux des autres espèces narratives. Ils ressemblent davantage aux passages musicaux ou récités rencontrés dans les narrations du peuple roumain. Ceci nous mène à supposer qu'en rapportant les passages versifiés du contenu de certaines narrations roumaines (et des autres peuples) à la perte (ou la non consignation) de l'exécution musicale,la zone possible de recherche serait tout à coup considérablement élargie.

En dépassant les frontières d'un pays ou des groupements de peuples,l'étude comparative des narrations populaires, vu aussi l'aspect musical possible, pourrait découvrir de nouveaux aspects. Par exemple, suivre certaines espèces en temps et dans le cadre de celles-ci quelques types de narrations. Dans quelle mesure ces épisodes dans lesquels aujourd'hui les héros respectifs évoquent la musique-chanson vocale ou instrumentale -ayant un rôle dans le développement de l'action,mais sans que le narrateur chante, persistent encore dans certaines variantes avec de la musique ou des simples vers ?

En concluant, nous ajoutons que le document musical peut nous offrir un facteur de plus pour la détermination de la liaison entre différentes espèces narratives, en allant de celles où la musique detient encore un rôle important, jusqu'à celles dont elle est disparue,cette fois en dépassant le groupe des narrations en prose, vers les types versifiés des anciennes chansons épiques et jusqu'à la chanson - narration contemporaine.

G.Suliteanu

N O T E S.

1. A côté du matériel folklorique narratif proprement-dit que j'ai eu à ma disposition, j'ai aussi utilisé l'opération de comparaison de son évolution pour une période d'environ 40-50 années. De même, sa relation avec d'autres catégories ou sous-catégories folkloriques plus ou moins proches, mais avec lesquelles il présente un apparentage de style et de contenu.

2. Approximativement 25.000 Tatares et Turcs de la contrée de Dobroudja. Jusqu'en 1967 il y avait encore dans l'île Ada-Kaleh environ 500 Turcs, qui ont été ultérieurement dispersés comme suite aux travaux nécessaires à la construction de la hydrocentrale "Les Portes de Fer".

3. Le répertoire des enfants, des berceuses, le répertoire funèbre, les chansons de quelques coutumes et fêtes, le répertoire nuptial et même quelques chansons et jeux.

4. Sous forme de dialogue ou des formules individuelles.

5. Par exemple, le fait qu'on a recueilli des populations primitives, des narrations souvent traduites et qu'autrefois celles-ci n'ont pas été transcrites dans la langue originale, a favorisé l'omission soit des passages à scander métrico-rythmico-mélopéiquement, soit même des passages musicaux proprement-dits.

6. Stith Thompson, The Types of Folk-Tale ed.II-a 1964, F.F.C. No.184.

7. C'est seulement au chap.II qu'on mentionne la présence de certaines strophes rythmiques ou des couplets.

8. De tels romans populaires édités et apportés de Turquie ont circulé aussi en Dobroudja. Mais la musique suivait son chemin de transmettre la tradition orale, exécutée par les narrateurs qui connaissaient la plupart des fois la narration, dans la même maniere orale.

9. Par ex. aussi Propp V.I. Istoriceskie korni volsebnoi skazki Leningrad, 1946.

10. Chinois, japonais, indiens, etc. et la réligion boudhiste utilise dans son spectacle à caractère narratif aussi le langage choréogra-

phique, que celui musical (vocal et instrumental).

11. Nous nous référons ici aussi au schéma à caractère généalogique fait par M.Thompson, concernant les branches provenues du conte,au chapitre: Théories sur le conte, op.cit.De même la très intéressante constatation de V.Propp dans l'oeuvre Russkii eroiceskie epos, Leningrad,1955, que la forme versifiée de la chanson a été précédée par la forme en prose, suivie par une forme mixte : l'alternation des vers et de la prose, la dernière étant successivement remplacée par le vers.

12. On ne doit pas omettre ni les effets physiologiques de l'exécution musicale. Ceux-ci auront été à d'autres niveaux chez les divers peuples situés à des différentes étapes de l'évolution de la culture et de la mentalité artistique, mais ces sentiments physiologiques de nature affective (quelquefois inconsciente) ont existé en même temps avec les premières manifestations vocales.

13. Birlea Ovidiu, Antologia prozei populare epice (Anthologie de prose populaire épique),Bucuresti,1966,p.86.Dans quelques contes on rencontre telles formulations chantées.Celles-ci apparaissent seulement en dialogue.

14. G.Suliteanu, Eposul Şora-Batîr la tâtarii din Dobrogea (L'épos Şora-Batîr chez les tatares du Dobroudja),1957,en coure d'apparition dans "Acta Orientalia" No.9.

15. Les Orientaux de Dobroudja attribuent ce terme aux contes, par ex. "Köse aqay"(L'homme imberbe), "On işler" (Les 13 frères),"Şu-Sultan" (Le sultan l'eau),"Kavege güzeler" (La belle du cafétier),etc.,qui n'ont pas de chants.De même on les attache comme formule de commencement : "Erte ! Bir zemanda bar eken, bir zeman da yoq eken" (Du passé! Il eût été jadis, il n'eût pas été),correspondant a la formule "A font odată ca niciodată (Il était une fois, comme jamais). Ni cette formule n'apparaît dans les narrations avec des chants. Une autre différence est celle concernant la véracité attribuée par le peuple aujourd'hui aux narrations avec des chants, tout distinctement des événements des contes.

16. P.ex. Peter Naili "Köroğlu Destan (Turk halk hitayelerine ve Sazşailerine ait metinler ve tetkikler VI) Istambul, 1931, I.Akbarov,préface à l'oeuvre de Junus Radjabi : "Uzbek halk muzicasi" vol.II. U.R.S.S. Uzbekistan, Taşkent,1957, p.XXIV-XV.

17. P.ex.les épos : "Edege-Batîr, - Karîm-Batîr, Kor-Oglu,Kosma-Şak, Karadja-Oglu,etc." et pour les narrations d'amour : "Arzi ile Kambo,

Tayr men Zore, Kokok menIsac,etc.

18. Tous sont des chants-épisodes dans l'épos Şora-Batîr, amplement analysés dans l'oeuvre mentionée (mg.1227,rec.par G.Suliţeanu, Ciocîrlia de Jos, Octobre 1957).

19. Herzog George: The Music of Jugoslav Heroic Epic Folk Poetry dans le Journal of the International Folk Music Council Vol.III, 1951,p.62-64.

20. G.Suliţeanu : Eposul tâtarilor Şora-Batîr (L'épos des tatares Şora-Batîr) et Strigâtele muncitorilor, meşteşugarilor, vînâtorilor şi negustorilor ambulanţi (Les cris des travailleurs, des artisans, des chasseurs, des distributeurs ambulants),Revista de Folklor an V No.1-2,1960, pag.75-113,note 19.

21. Type de vers que j'ai dénommé "à mesure redoublée" et qui est caractéristique à la musique populaire turque.

22. Quand le vers est répété et aussi musical, soit qu'il représente la nécessité même de l'expressivité du texte, soit qu'il appartienne à un stade d'évolution plus neuf dans le temps, proche de la chanson proprement-dite.

23. La coutume de raconter a duré en Dobroudja jusqu'aux années 1940-1941. Elle appartenait en exclusivité aux réunions masculines auxquelles les femmes n'étaient pas admises.

24. Cecil B.Sharp, English Folk Song Some conclusions (Fourth revised) Edition prepared by Maud Karpeles. London 1965 (First published 1907) p.7.

25. P.ex. "Bir zemanda bar eken/ bir zemanda,yoq eken" Ewel zaman işinde Qalbur zaman işinde/ Tuye tellál ekende/ Fire hammal ekende/ bir qarga bar eken (Il était une fois, il n'était pas. Quand le futur était à temps / Quand la crible était en paille/, Quand le chameau était messager / Quand la puce était portefaix...Il était une fois une corneille), mg 3558 j, "Le conte de la corneille", inf.Ali N.Geafer, 43 ans, recueilli par G. Suliţeanu, Janvier 1969.

Exemple de Recension A.

L'épisode Chora Batîr Variante type A mg.1227 ff-ii
(Résumé)

1. L'épisode du marriage de Narîk, père de Chora Batîr.

Le neveu d'un Khan avait deux fils et un fils adoptif qui se nommait Chora. Narik était le plus grand fils. Il choisit pour épouse Ayansuwlu, la fille perspicace, mais pauvre, d'un vacher de son village. Ayansuwlu conseille ses parents de demander du khan comme présent de marriage, la vieille jument Haralambie, avec la clochette au cou. Mais, en même temps avec la jumelle part aussi une demi-part du troupeau. Ainsi Ayansuwlu réussit a enrichir ses parents pour pouvoir faire face aux dépenses de noce.

2. Les épisodes de l'intrigue de Chora, son frère adoptif et la mort du frère cadet.

Chora attire l'attention du frère plus jeune de Narîk sur la beauté de Ayansuwlu, en le conseillant de prier son père d'envoyer Narîk en ville pour lui acheter des rênes et une selle d'or. Ayansuwlu soupçonnant la vérité, conseille Narîk de simuler le départ pour surprendre son frère sur le fait. Ainsi Narîk le quettant à l'entrée de sa maison, lui coupe la tête et l'enterre sur place ; entre temps Chora s'enfuit. Puis Narîk va en ville pour tromper les soupçons de son père.

3. L'épisode de la découverte du crime et le bannissement du groupe de Narîk, Ayansuwlu et Chora, le frère adoptif.

Le Khan apprit de Chora l'événement, apres quoi il le bannit avec Narîk et Ayansuwlu.

4. L'épisode de la naissance de Chora Batir et la séparation de Chora, le frère adoptif.

En passant par une forêt, Ayansuwlu met au monde un fils que Narîk nomme Chora ; il dit à son frère Chora : "Maintenant que Ayansuwlu a eu un fils, tu es libre de partir où tu veux, et le nom du garcon soit Chora."

5. L'épisode de l'amitié de Chora l'enfant avec Kulumceak et la rencontre avec Kadîr Nebi.

Un jour, ménant ses deux veaux au pâturage,Chora fait la connaissance de Kulumcak, fils de khan, qui gardait le troupeau de cheveaux de son père.

Un jour Kulumceak étant en retard et ayant faim,Chora abattit l'un de ses veaux pour manger. Pendant qu'ils mangeaient, un vieillard s'approchait d'eux et les enfants, l'invitent à manger avec eux. Celui -ci qui en realité était un saint, Kadîr-Nebi, leur prédit que les deux garçons deviendront batîrs (des héros).

6. L'épisode du choix de Chora : le cheval offert cadeau par le père de Kulumceak.

Le père de Kulumcak, en apprenant la bonne conduite de Chora,l'invite de choisir un cheval de son troupeau. Chora choisit un poulain auquel il met comme signe un faisceau de fouet et lui donne le nom de Tasmalî - Gerî (faisceau de fouet).

7. L'épisode de l'attaque d'Aly-Bey et l'avertissement de Chora. (Chant I-er).

Avec le temps Chora est devenu un beau et vaillant garçon (Batîr), que tout le monde cherit. Un khan de Crimeea, Aly-Bey, envieux, vient chez Chora,grisé avec kmiz. En l'absence de Chora-Batîr, Aly-Bey frappe Narîk, insulte Ayanauwlu, Qanibek sa soeur s'effraie et Aly-Bey part,menant avec lui le cheval préféré de Chora:Tasmalî -Gerî. Après le départ d'Aly-Bey, Narîk, va annoncer Chora qui était à une noce dans le village voisin.

Père Narîk n'est pas entré directement. Il s'est arreté à la fenêtre et a commencé chanter (Chant I-er exp.1).

Chora-Batir a soupiré profondément quand il a entendu le chant.Quand il a soupiré,la maison s'est enflammée (d'une nostalgie ardente), s'est allumée. Il partit immédiatement à la maison, a enfourché

"Gel-Getmez" et s'est précipité après Aly-Bey.

8. L'épisode de la rencontre et de la lutte avec Aly-Bey (Chants II et III). La mort de Aly-Bey.

Aly-Bey se voyant poursuivi, dit à Chora qu'il est pret à payer les pertes et de lui restituer le cheval.(Chant II ex.2).

Mais Chora Batîr lui rappele tous les sacrilèges et le provoque à la lutte(Chant III ex.3).

Ils se battent avec l'arc et Aly-Bey est tué.

9. Les épisodes de la lutte avec le Khan ami d'Aly-Bey. L'aide de Kulumceak-Batîr.

Apres la mort d'Aly-Bey, Chora Batîr est invite pour le Khan ami d'Aly-Bey, de se préparer pour la lutte.Ensuite il avertit son ami, Kulumceak-Batîr,de venir et de se battre à son côté. A la vue de la nombreuse armée du khan, ils se sont mis en marche disant : "Une tarte vient vers nous ; viens la couper bien". Apres avoir vaincu l'énnemi,les deux batirs se sont embrassés et se sont separés.

10. L'épisode du départ à l'aide du khan de Kazan (Chants IV, V).

Chora-Batîr reçoit un "télégramme" du Khan de Kazan, par lequel celui-ci lui demande de l'aide dans les luttes avec les Kalmuques. Chora-Batîr monte sur "Tasmalî-Gerî" rencontre Kulumceak-Batîr et tous les deux se dirigent vers Kazan. En route, dans un village, ils rencontrent certaines vieilles femmes curieuses qui dèléguent un enfant de leur demander qui sont ils et où vont ils(Chant IV ex.4) Chora-Batir leur répond (Chant V ex.5).

11. Les épisodes de la rencontre avec la fille du khan de Kazan, la défaite de l'énnemi et le marriage de Kulumceak.

La belle et la sage fille du Khan de Kazan apprit l'arrivée des deux braves et leur offre comme cadeaux : à Kulumceak une épée et à Chora un bouclier dans lequel se trouvait une épée de quarante aunes. Avec ces-ci les deux braves "partirent sur le champs de

bataille....l'un de la droite, l'un de la gauche, battirent les calmuques et ceux qui survivent furent chassés du pays."
Après la victoire, la fille du khan montrait sa préférence pour Chora-Batir, mais celui-ci répondit : "Je ne suis pas venu ici pour me marier. Je suis venu me battre et montrer ma bravoure."
Mais Kulumceak répondit : "Je reste et je prends la jeune fille."

12. L'épisode du passage de l'eau avec l'aide des haydera et la cause de la disparition de Chora.

En route vers la maison,Chora devait passer une grande eau courante sans pont.Une petite fille qui était au bord de l'eau,le pria dela faire passer aussi l'eau. Chora la prend, mais lui dit de tenir les yeux fermés. Pendant le passage au milieu de l'eau,la petite ouvre les yeux et voit six haydera à droite et six haydera à gauche, qui les transportaient a passer l'eau.La petite dit à Chora : mon frere, mon frere, voila !".... "Peste"! ...s'écriait Chora et se noyait avec le cheval et avec la petite fille. On sait que les haydera gardaient Chora-Batîr et que la petite était le diable. On dit que chaque année on voit dans l'eau le dos de Chora-Batîr et les calmuques le gardent meme aujourd'hui pour qu'il ne puisse sortir de l'eau.

Mgt.1227 f.f.

Exemplu de Respira D.

CHORA - LE BRAVE.

Chant I: "Narik se plaint a Chora-Le Brave de l'attaque d'Aly-Bey d'Aktach (village AK)"

- Ali Bey d'Aktach,
Le Bey au durillon sur le dos
Celui qui devient fou à la vue de l'ennemi,
est venu, mon fils,
Avec "Kmîz" il a déchainé les vents, mon fils,
Ton père est Narîk le vieux,
Il l'a frappé sur les yeux,sur la tête,
Ta mere est Ayansulu,
Il lui a dit des mots qu'elle n'oubliera jamais,
Il a obligé ta soeur Qanibeg de l'obéir comme une mariée,
mon fils,
Je lui ai donné mon "Regard de chameau", il ne l'a pas accepté,
Je lui ai donné mon "Non rejoint par le vent"
Je l'ai porté par le licou,il ne l'a pas accepté,
Celui avec les pieds comme une queneuille,
Celui qui court comme un diable,
C'est "terre bariolée" qu'il prît et partit,
mon fils.

\+ + +

Mgt.1227 f.f.

Chant II : "Ali Bey d'Aktache va a la rencontre de Chora-Le Brave.

- Tire, tire, mon Chora, tire mon Chora,
Mon Chora tire le licou du cheval,
Si tu dis nourriture,je paie,
Et si tu veux montrer à cheval,je te le donne"

Mgt.1227 (II)

Chant III : "Chora-Le Brave demande de régler ses comptes
avec Ali Bey d'Aktach et le provoque à la lutte"

Hey ! - Ali Bey d'Aktach,
Bey,au durillon sur le dos
Celui qui devient fou à la vue de l'ennemi,
Tu est venu avec ton Kmîz
et tu as déchainé les vents,
Mon père est Narik le vieux,
Tu l'as frappé sur les yeux, sur la tête,
Comment payeras - tu ça ?
Ma mère est Ayansulu,
Tu lui as dit des mots qu'elle n'oubliera jamais,
Comment payeras-tu ça ?
Ma soeur Qanibeg tu l'as obligée de t'obéir comme une mariée,
Comment payeras-tu ça ?
Il t-a donné le "Regard du Chameau",tu ne l'as pas voulu,
Il t-a donné le "Non rejoint par le vent", tu ne l'as pas voulu,
Celui avec les pieds comme une quenouille,
Celui qui court comme un diable,
Le "Terre bariolée" tu l'as pris et tu est parti
Comment payeras-tu ça ?
(parlé) Mais je ne rentre pas sans lutte !

Chant IV : "La question de l'enfant"
- Avec l'habit bleu sur une manche,
avec l'oiseau aimé sur la main,
où pars tu gentilhomme ? "

Mgt.1227.h.h.

Chant V : "La réponse de Chora-Le Brave" :

- J'ai mis l'habit bleu sur une manche,
L'oiseau aimé je l'ai pris dans la main,
Je ne suis pas gentilhomme,
Si tu demandes le nom de mon village,
Le village est Kokîs.
Si tu questionnes sur mon père
Je suis Chora, le fils de Narîk
Je ne suis pas gentilhomme,
Je vais à Kazan,
Qu'il ne pleuve avec de la neige,
qu'il pleuve avec du sang,
Après que j'arrive à Kazan,
Qu'il coule du sang jusqu'à genoux."

\+ + + +

Mg.1228 e e : Exemple de Variante B

Chant I, ~~Variante~~ Aris men Kamber

Le commencement de l'amour entre Aris et Kamber

Aris : "J'étais a la fontaine x j'ai lavé mes mains et mon visage,
"Sur le marbre x j'ai laissé mon bracelet"

Kamber: "Je n'étais pas a la x je ne lavais pas les mains et
d fontaine le visage,
"Sur le marbre x je ne trouvais pas ton bracelet"

Mg.1228 f. :

Aris men Kamber

Chant II : La séparation.

Aris: "Si tu pars, que ton chemin soit béni x Que ton chemin soit fait des mers étendues

"Je n'aimerai pas un autre que toi x Que mes quatre livres sacrés soient le pacte !"

Kamber :
"J'ai monté sur le berceau du destin x Et je pars pour la mer du destin

"Ce que je maudis toujours, en errant x C'est la sorcière la cause de la séparation."

Exemples de l'espèce C.

Ex.8 mg. 3558 j

Le chant final → Le conte de la corneille.

- " J'ai donné l'épine, j'ai pris le pain,
" J'ai donné le pain, j'ai pris le canard,
" J'ai donné le canard, j'ai pris la vache,
" J'ai donné la vache, j'ai pris la mariée,
" J'ai donné la mariée, j'ai pris le caval
" Turli, turli, turli, kra ! kra ! "

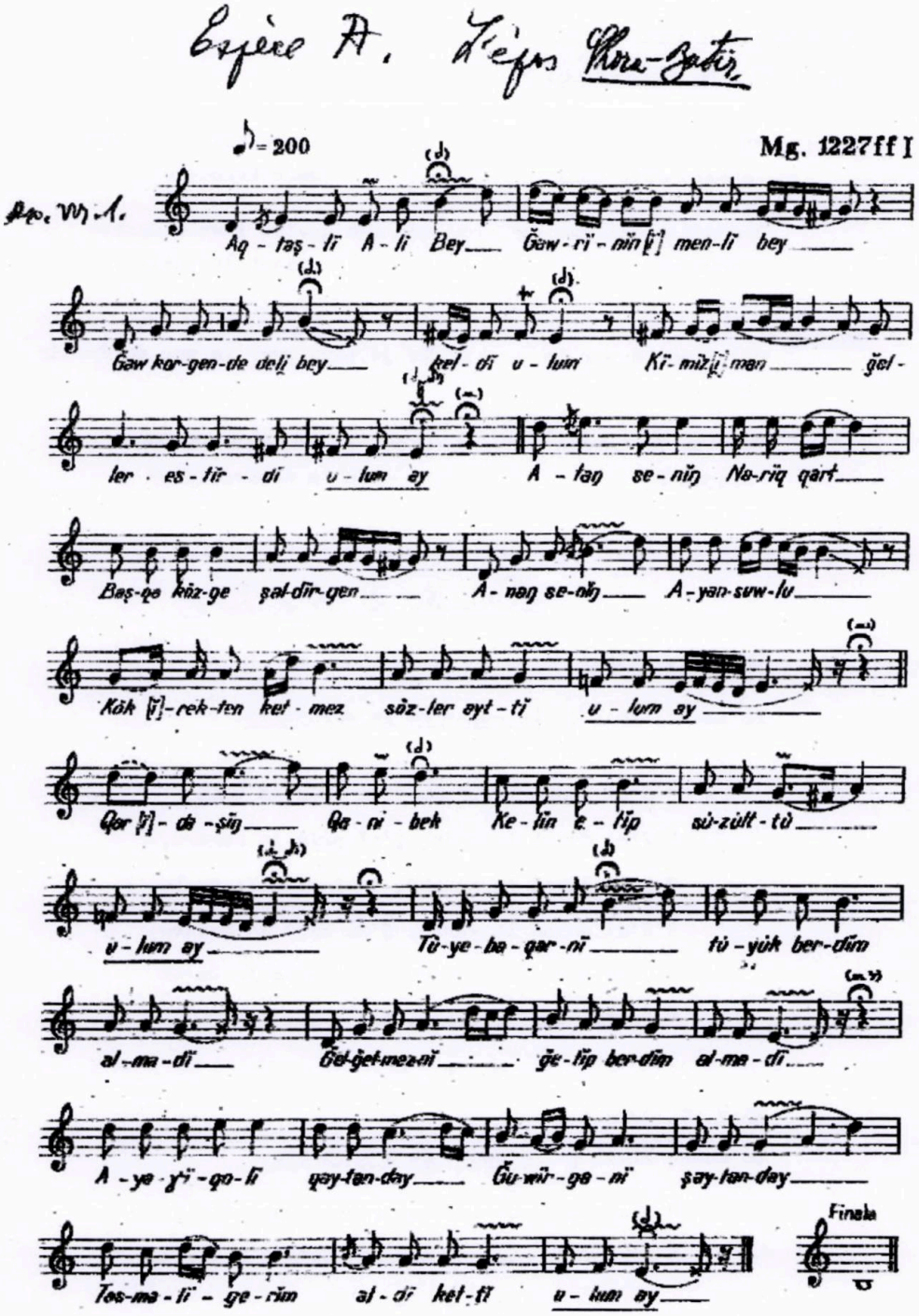
\+ + +

Ex.9 mg. 3558 i

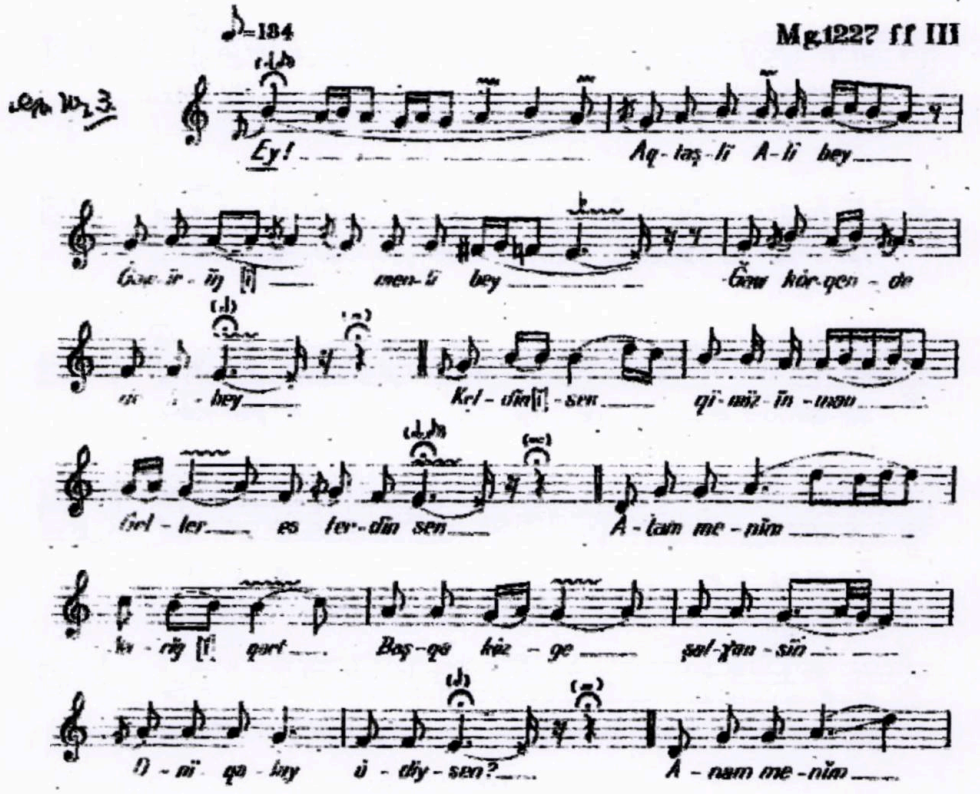
Le chant final → Le conte de l'alouette.

" J'ai fait que le khan reste sans tête ;
" J'ai fait que ses enfants soient orphelins."

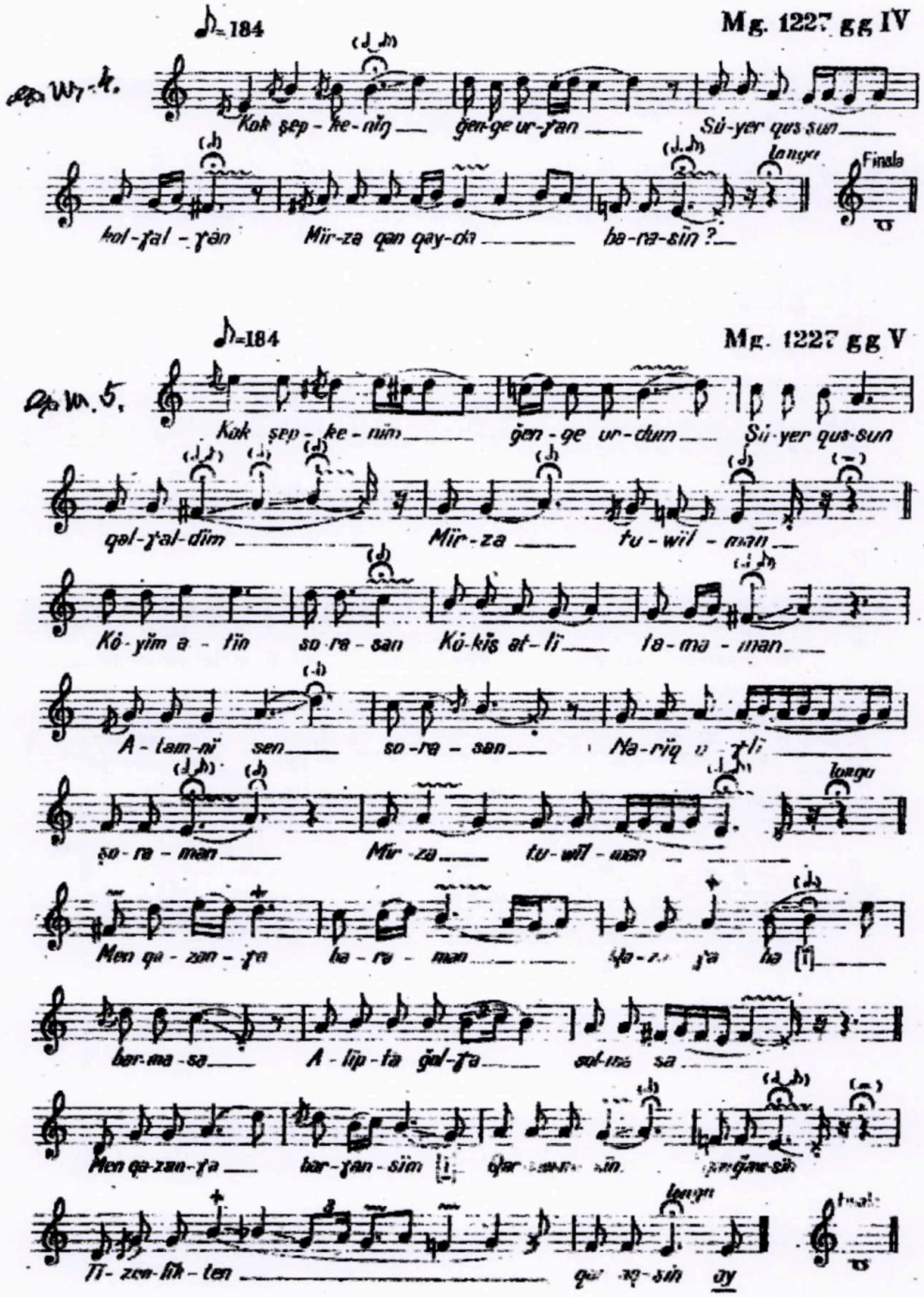
\+ + +


Ezgiler A. Tepe Chora-Gatir
♩= 200
Mg. 1227ff I
Aq - taş - lï A - li Bey Gäw - rï - nïn[ï] men - lï bey
Gäw kor - gen - de delï bey kel - dï u - lum Kï - mizï[ï] man gel -
ler es - tir - di u - lum ay A - tan se - niŋ Ne - riq qart
Beş - qe küz - ge şal - dïr - gen A - nan se - niŋ A - yan - suw - lu
Kök [ï] - rek - ten ket - mez sözler ayt - tï u - lum ay
Qor [ï] - da - şïŋ Qa - ni - bek Ke - lin e - lip sü - zült - tü
u - lum ay Tü - ye - ba - qar - nï tü - yük ber - dim
al - ma - dï Gel - get - mez - nï ge - lip ber - dim al - ma - dï
A - ye - yï - qo - lï qay - tan - day Gü - nür - ge - ni şay - tan - day
Finale
Tes - ma - lï - ge - rim al - dï ket - tï u - lum ay

Mg. 1227 ff II
♪ 176
Şa-ram
Şa-ram
Finala

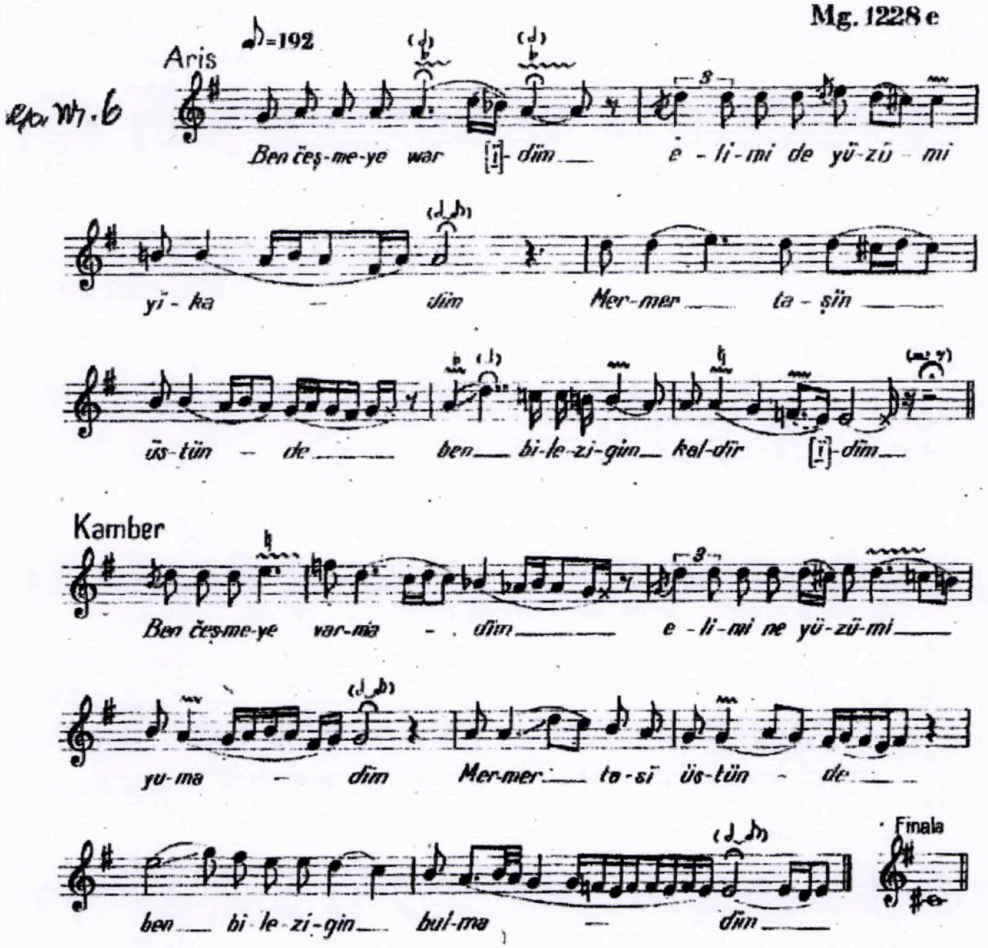

♪=134
Mg.1227 ff III
Ey!
Aq-taş-lı A-li bey
Gəm kür-qen-də
Kef-dən-sen
qi-mə-in-tən
Gel-ler es fer-dən sen
A-lam mə-nim
Baş-qa kəz-ge
şal-yan-sən
A-nam mə-nim

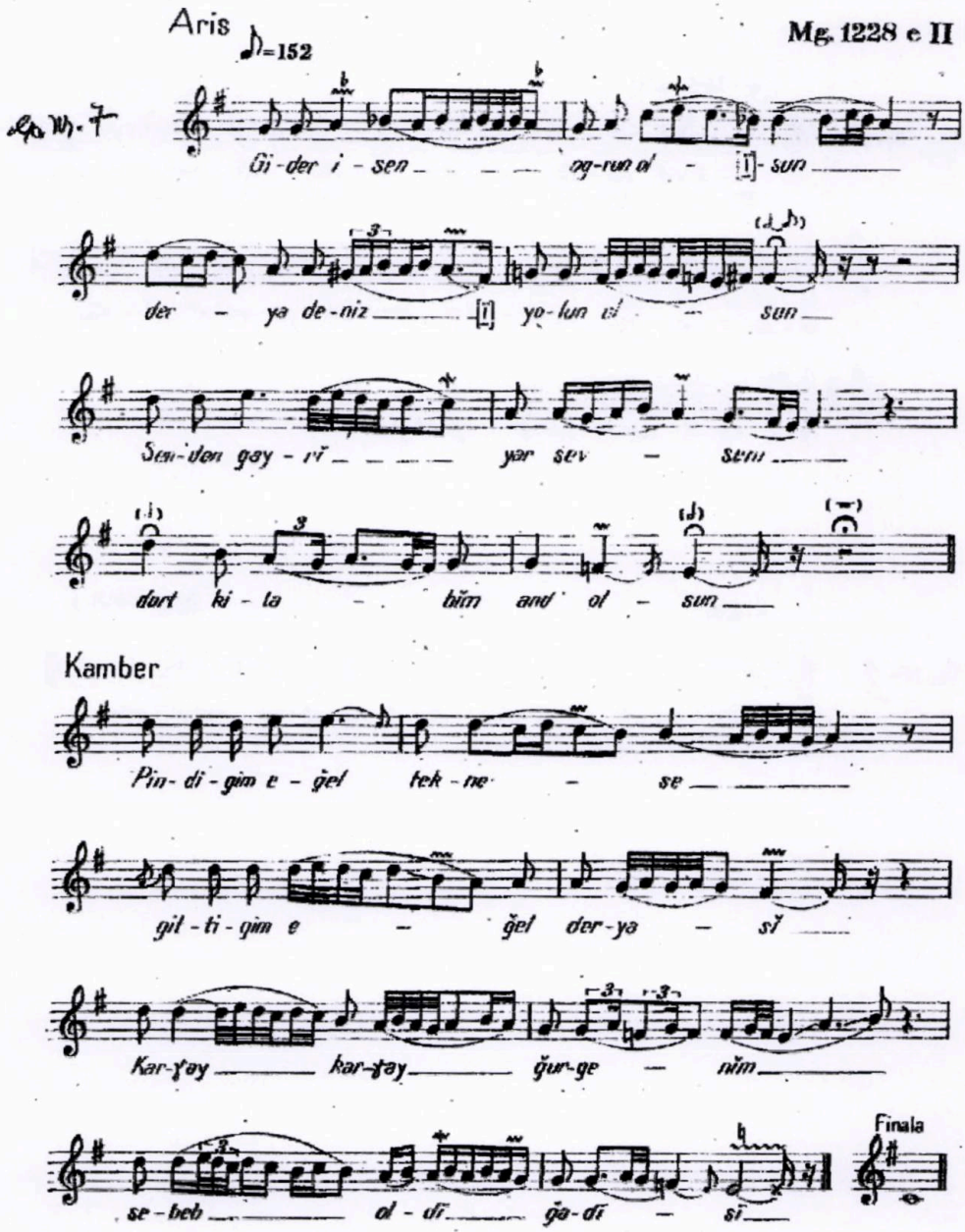
A - yan [ï] - suw - lu
Kök [ï] - rek - ten
ket - mez
söz - ler ayt - qan - sin
O - nï qa - lay
ö - diy - sen?
Qar [ï] - da - şïm
Qa - ni - bek
Ke - lïn e - ïl
sü - zült - ken - sen
O - nï qa - lay
ö - diy sen?...
Tü - ye - Ba - qar - nï
tü - ye ber - gen
al - γan - yok - sï
Ğel - Ğet - mes - nï
ğe - lïp ber - gen
al - γan - yok - sï
A - ya - γï - qa - lï
qay - tan - day
Ğï - wïr - ga - nï
say - tan - day
Tas - ma - lï
Ge - rïm [ï] al - γan ket - ken - sïn
O - nï qa - lay
ö - diy - sen?
Finale


Mg. 1227 gg IV
Wr. 4.
Kok şep - ke - niŋ
gen-ge ur-ɣan
Sü-yer qus sun
kol-ɣal - ɣan
Mïr-za qan qay-da
ba-ra-sïn ?
Finale
Mg. 1227 gg V
Wr. 5.
Kok şep - ke - nïm
ğen - ge ur-dum
Sü-yer qus-sun
qal-ɣal-dïm
Mïr-za
tu - wïl - man
Kó-yïm a - tïn
so-ra - san
Kú-kïş at-lï
ta - ma - man
A - tam-nï sen
so-ra - san
Na-rïq
so - ra - man
Mïr-za
tu-wïl - man
Men qa - zan - ɣa
ba - ra - man
bar-ma-sa
A - lïp - ta ğal-ɣa
Men qa-zan-ɣa
bar-ɣan - sïm
Tï - zen-lik - ten
qu
ay

Exèce B

Mg. 1228 e


Aris
♩=192
Ben čeş-me-ye war [i]-dim e-li-mi de yü-zü-mi
yï-ka - dim Mer-mer ta-şïn
üs-tün - de ben bi-le-zi-gin kal-dïr [i]-dim
Kamber
Ben čeşme-ye var-ma - dim e-li-mi ne yü-zü-mi
yu-ma - dim Mer-mer ta-sï üs-tün - de
ben bi-le-zi-gin bul-ma - dim
Finala


Aris
♪=152
Mg. 1228 c II
Gi-der i-sen ag-run ol-sun
der-ya de-niz yo-lun ü-sün
Sen-den gay-rï yer sev-sem
dört ki-ta-bïm and ol-sun
Kamber
Pin-di-gim e-ğel tek-ne-se
gil-ti-gim e-ğel der-ya-sï
Kar-şay kar-şay ğur-ge-nïm
se-beb ol-dï ğa-dï-si
Finala

Text C

♩=144–160
Mg. 3658 J.
Ti - ken-nĭ ber-dĭm, ot - mek-nĭ al - dĭm, Ot - mek-nĭ ber-dim,
Ba - dĭ-nĭ ber-dĭm, sĭ - yĭr-nĭ al - dĭm, Sĭ - yĭr - tĭ ber-dĭm,
ba - dĭ-nĭ al - dĭm,
ke - lĭn-nĭ al - dĭm,
Ke - lĭn-nĭ ber-dĭm, qa - vĭd-nĭ al - dĭm
Tur-li, tur-li, tur-li, tur-li ỳra! ỳra!

♩=126
Mg. 3558 i
Qan-nĭ baş-sĭz qal-dĭr-dĭm, Bal-ḥa-rĭŋ ak-sĭz qal-dĭr-dĭm.

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Published by the Romanian Academy, this journal was founded in 1956 – reason why it still bears in its title the original, Romanian name, followed by its English version. Yet, since 2007 it has become fully international, publishing academic articles in international languages only.

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